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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE UNITED STATES IN THE EYES

OF EUROPEAN TRAVELERS

1888-1914

by

Hertha Bergner

(A.B., University of Wisconsin, 1924)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

1935

HEL

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CHAPTER I

THE MAN IN THE STREET

(The American Man)

The To the typical Englishman of the Victorian
Ameri- Era, our "Man in the Street" was an American cousin,
can but how different the average American becomes when
a seen at close quarters by travelers to these shores.
Compos- It then becomes apparent that the modern American is
ite. a member of a "new race, which has emerged from the
 furnace pot into which all nationalities have been
 smelted down in order to produce that richest ingot
 of humanity, the modern American" (1). The people of
 the United States are of "no one kind" (2); "compos-
 ite blood runs in American veins" (3). The American
 has become an American "who clings above everything
 to his Americanism" (4). As a composite of other
 nationalities, there are those who see the typical
 American as embodying a combination of virtues. He
 is "less briggishly supercilious than the Germans,
 less restlessly pretentious than the French, less
 pharasaically self-satisfied than the English" (5),
 and possesses German industry, British endurance
 and Latin acuteness (6).

 We shall not have to proceed far before we
 recognize that to a closer scrutiny the average
 American is depicted in less eulogistic terms.

(1) U 147. (2) T 111. (3) X 78. (4) A 163.

(5) F II, 782. (6) X 395.

CHAPTER I

THE MAN IN THE STREET

(The American Man)

To the typical Englishman of the Victorian era, our "Man in the Street" was an American cousin, but how different the average American becomes when seen at close quarters by travelers to these shores. It then becomes apparent that the modern American is a member of a "new race," which has emerged from the furnace not into which all nationalities have been smelted down in order to produce that richest alloy of

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to his "Americanism" (4). As a composite of other nationalities, there are those who see the typical American as embodying a combination of virtues. He is "less religiously enthusiastic than the German, less less recklessly pretentious than the French, less pharisaically self-satisfied than the English" (5). and possesses German industry, British endurance and Latin softness (6).

We shall not have to proceed far before we recognize that to a closer scrutiny the average American is depicted in less optimistic terms.

Physique There is, however, general recognition of what we may call the wholesomeness of the American physique. One writer remarks that while we are not as strong as the British, yet we present an appearance that is healthier. (7). The upright bearing, the square-shouldered and square-jawedness, and the firm tread of the American evokes admiration (8). Hunchbacks are few (9). We are conspicuous for our fresh, frank, open faces (10).

Clean-
liness

The cleanliness is seen both as external and internal. The way the people crave a holiday by the seashore, (11), the intolerance of untidy sights (12), the poor who do not despise the blessing of soap (13), the vast consumption of water in preference to spirits or wine (14), the frequency and regularity with which people of all classes bathe, the abhorrence of closed windows and late hours, are external witnesses to the conviction that physical health is necessary for the struggle and stress of business life (15).

Gener-
ality

of The sober European has not been more than a day in our midst before he is also impressed by the broad smile that the Americans constantly wear, or have at their immediate call. If the visitor is travelling in the street car, though to his view the

Humor

(7) L 190. (8) W 193. (9) R 229. (10) K 57; V 57.
(11) D 102. (12) I 310. (13) G 54-5. (14) L 92. (15) Y 156.

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 (7) L 190. (8) W 193. (9) R 329. (10) R 57; V 57.

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passengers are subjected to the greatest indignities, the utmost good nature prevails in spite of all the jostling (16). After meeting hundreds of men at lunches, he finds that not one was pompous, dull, morose, or pedantic; and that the pleasant sparkle of the eye pervades the country (17). If he is present at a banquet which is followed by the inevitable speech-making, he finds that the American idea of an after-dinner speech is a humorous anecdote (18).

No country has so many anecdotes or tells them so well (19). In fact, "humor penetrates and gives savour to the whole of American life" (20). Even at church, the preacher is expected to be amusing (21).

Uses of Humor	When this humor is scrutinized, it is found to be not an unmixed good. There is no doubt it has its social uses. In view of the strain under which the American works, the element of relaxation which humor brings, is beneficial (22). The constant readiness for a joke includes the sharing of it with every one in general, so that the humor breaks down social distinctions (23). In a political campaign the humor of a candidate has much to do with his popularity (24). Many political persons owe their success to their wit (25). Literary humorists like Frank Stockton and Mark Twain are distinctly American (26). The American laughs in all sincerity (27).
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(16) G 24-5. (17) A 70. (18) K 186. (19) R 108. (20) P 138.
 (21) T 123. (22) L 190-1. (23) Q1 543. (24) P 141, (25) Q1 544.
 (26) P 142. (27) Y 204.

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Criticism

of

Humor

But in contrast to its commendable features, others may be noticed. It does not demand a high standard in public entertainment. In the theatre, for instance, anything satisfies the American because he is so easily pleased, and therefore "little good stuff" is offered (28). The raillery which is one of its characteristics (29) is so universal that no one is spared (30), and tends to extravagant exaggeration (31). Good-naturedness may accompany the shallowness that knows no indignation. The American has not the gift for being cross, and because he is good-natured, he opposes efforts at reform (32). Though on the one hand American humor is said to be "fresher and more spontaneous than the English" (33), it lacks all respect for deeper feelings. No dignity of office excludes a man from the general lack of respect that is involved in the quatrain which refers, if you please, to their Excellencies President Benjamin Harrison, Vice-President Levi P. Morton, and Postmaster-General John Wanamaker, as follows:-

"Benny runs the White House,
Levi keeps a bar,
Johnny runs a Sunday School --
And, damme, there you are!" (34)

*Real version
The baby runs to - Home
(Harrison's grand-child)*

Even sacred names are not in any way sacrosanct, and the visitor in 1888 was expected to smile at the skillful alliteration of the phrase in which a news-

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(32) Q1 555. (33) Q1 544. (34) P 135.

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paper described the hanging of a murderer as being "Jerked to Jesus" (35). So Collier states that the good humor of the American is his greatest virtue and his most appalling vice (36). And yet the Americans are said to have no sense of humor. For if they had, how could they have placed a statue of a signer of the Declaration of Independence opposite the British Embassy in Washington, and asked the Honorable James Bryce to help at the ceremony? (37)

this proves they have a sense of humor!

Individ-
ualism

As our concern in this work is with the period when class distinctions, with their particular habits of thought, remained more or less undisturbed in Europe, visitors frequently remarked upon the individualism that was peculiarly American; but at the same time found that this was accompanied by a general uniformity.

In the development of the country, progress has depended on self-initiative (38), and trust in the individual man is what has "made America a nation" (39). Self-confidence is one of the prominent qualities of this new country (40). Everywhere there is desire for self-perfection in the individual (41), and this idea of personal development "ministers to his sense of power" (42). You will never make a mistake if you address the Man in the Street as "Colonel" or "Judge" (43).

(35) P 135. (36) H 6-7. (37) W 431. (38) Q1 239.
(39) J 90. (40) X 372. (41) Q1 359. (42) T 80.
(43) R 60.

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Equal-
ity

In the new land where government is "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the idea of democratic equality is everywhere thoroughly ingrained. The Americans detest that spirit of caste which hampers one individual and gives advantage to another (44). Smart remarks that this idea is ingrained because the American Eve has always had to spin and the man to delve (45). Wagner attributed the admiration for Napoleon which he found general in America to the fact that he was a "self-made man" (46). Bryce notes that in the west especially, there is a dislike for anyone to manifest social superiority; and in the country as a whole, this tends to be lack of respect for traditions and undervaluation of special knowledge or experience, (47), and to lack of reverence for those who are wiser or better instructed than themselves (48). Again, in thinking that everything begins and ends with himself as an individual, he lacks the perception that his activity is but part of a large collective process (49). Also, "the faith in human fraternity" that is everywhere (50) slops over into the opinion that no man is as good as himself (51), and everyone thinks himself better than his master (52).

Uniform-
ity

The astute observer indeed recognizes that individuality as a mass acquisition is an

(44) Q1 8-9. (45) T 28-9. (46) Y 167. (47) F II, 574, 761.
(48) F II, 286; Q1 28. (49) Z 153-4. (50) J 90
(51) L 96. (52) W 471.

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 (48) Y 11. 286; 21 28. (49) Z 123-4. (50) Z 90
 (51) Z 98. (52) W 471.

antithesis to real individuality and tends to mass uniformity (53). As Smart remarks, "the individuality of the American is more often a defensive individuality;" and, scarcely taking its own line, is admirable only "within limits" (54). It turns out that if the ordinary American is "extraordinarily ordinary" it is only because there is nothing ordinary in an American! (55) The fastidious Matthew Arnold remarks that "everything is against distinction in America" (56), and the cautious Bryce says that one drawback in American life is uniformity (57). Though American inventive talent tends to relieve the monotony, the very generality of this talent occasions the comment that Americans are apes (58). Here we have no individuality. One American dresses and does exactly like another. If he did not he would be called "crazy" (59).

Adapt-
ability

It is observed that though the American likes flowers, he does not cultivate gardens. This is a symptom of what we may call his lack of fixedness (60). Although associative and sympathetic, the American is almost nomadic (61). He does not "strike his roots lovingly down into the soil, as in rural England" (62), nor does he get homesick for locality as do the Germans or the English (63). From childhood up, spending "half of his life in travelling" (64),

(53) Q2 193. (54) T 111. (55) R 226. (56) B 177.
(57) F II, 816. (58) Q1 554. (59) W 36. (60) D 240.
(61) F II, 289. (62) B 173. (63) T 14. (64) X 407.

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Adapt-
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he does not strive to own his own place (65). He is adaptable and is not identified with his occupation (66). He has "often done many things and learned much from each" (67). He has thus become versatile and shows himself apt in accommodating himself to circumstances. This is sometimes necessary through his constant changes of fortune (68). Living in a "vagueness of space...he has no fixed groove" (69); and baseball with its "changing chances, bitter disappointments and brilliant successes" following each other in the course of the game, is seen as personifying the life of a typical American (70). In visiting England, his adaptability is evident in being able to "chum equally with a prince or a pauper" (71).

Love We shall now deal with the characteristic
of that above all others distinguishes the American people.
Money This is the characteristic symbolized by the fact that the sign for the dollar is but another way of writing the initials "U.S." It suffices here to give sixteen observations from as many different authors. America loves money because "it is the sole proof of.. endeavor" (72). Americans have the commercial point of view that concentrates on profit and loss (73). "Men will do for money here what men will do for money nowhere else" (74). The American boasts about money, prays for it Sunday morning in church and on Sunday

(65) H 199. (66) Q1 542. (67) T 18. (68) X 408. (69) S 409.
(70) X 413. (71) J 233. (72) C 94. (73) F II, 289.
(74) H 139.

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(74) H 159.
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(65) H 199. (66) J 543. (67) T 18. (68) X 408. (69) J 409.

evening gives thanks for it. He lives for the "Almighty Dollar" (75). Though the Virginia planter differs from the western meat packer, they are both out for dollar making; and like a good-natured big boy at fifty, he brags about the money he has made (76). Although attention to field sports would keep him in better vigor (77), the American gentleman devotes himself to business (78). Wealth is a criterion of the individual, and "it is not the power which wealth confers, but the power which has conferred wealth, that is respected".(79). The American "admires talent, because it is a paying commodity" (80). The dollar is taken as a "sign of an inward power", and the American pursues a happiness which is only industrial (81). He has "concentrated upon the pursuit of wealth" (82). He "reveres the dollar as an emblem of power" and before the successful man of business the people bow down; he "takes the place of royalty, nobility, caste, education, and virtue together" (83). Financial morality here is not as high as in other nations (84). In pursuing his chief aim, the American has no time to play on the Riviera; in money-getting he outstrains himself, and immigrants having caught the fever, give up church attendance and become absorbed in the battle for gold (85). Money is the object of general respect (86); the lust of acqui-

(75) I 63, 104, 169, 170. (76) L 88. (77) L 175. (78) O 231.
 (79) Q1 595, 597. (80) R 20. (81) T 6, 111. (82) U 383.
 (83) V 4, 167. (84) W 203. (85) X 39, 136-7, 196, 313.
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 (79) Q 155, 597. (80) R 80. (81) T 6. 111. (82) U 385.
 (83) V 4, 157. (84) W 203. (85) X 39, 138-7, 195, 313.
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sition has been glorified, and dollars are talked to an "astonishing extent" (87).

Acquis- With the mind of the average American thus
itive- prepossessed with the love of money, he comes to life
ness prepared to "get on" in terms of it (88). The "imag-
ination of ambitious youths" is fired by the wealth
that marks men as heroes and leaders in the commercial
world (89). Although he may begin at the bottom, every
man feels that he has a chance to succeed at the top
(90). Not only does contentment seem "scarcely repu-
table" (91), but he holds his success to his scorn of
contentment (92); and must be ever increasing his
scale of living (93). By the time he is thirty-eight
he must have enough money to "ooze dollars" or be left
to slouch among the pines with a nervous breakdown (94).

Use But in spite of this concentration on the
of acquiring of money, it would appear that it is not
Money merely for the purpose of accumulating it. The typical
American does not accumulate capital to live on, but
to spend (95). "Avarice is a vice almost unknown,"
and the thirst for money is for what it can buy (96).
Unfortunately, the American lacks judgment in the
spending of it. Americans show ingenuity in making
money but no imagination in the way they spend it;
they spend it "childishly" (97). Similarly, Collier
states that economy is unknown in the country, and

(87) Z 100,126. (88) Z 107. (89) F II,575. (90) U 394.
(91) H 80. (92) U 442. (93) Z 107. (94) L 174. (95) H 198.
(96) R 27. (97) X 112-13.

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(87) E 100.125 (88) E 107 (89) F 11.575 (90) U 322.
(91) H 80. (92) U 442. (93) E 107. (94) L 174. (95) H 122.
(96) R 27. (97) X 112-13.

people know neither how to take care of money or how to use it (98). Many are irresponsible pleasure seekers and many are collectors without discrimination (99). Prevalence to speculation is rife and any one who has money, even nursemaids and Chinese, buy Wall Street stocks (100).

Practicality All this results in a very practical or "materialistic" cast of mind. A change from one occupation to another is often made, which in Europe would be considered less honorable (101). Poverty is not in itself regarded as a humiliation but simply as an inconvenience (102). America has not realized the advantages that may accrue to the existence of a leisure class because its primary respect is for those gainfully employed (103). This practical cast, this direction of the mental faculties to a utilitarian point of view, is referred to as the most prominent of the American character (104). The attitude toward life is matter-of-fact, and there is little room for the "romantic and imaginative" (105). The typical American absorbed in business makes love "with the nonchalance of an animal" (106). So ingrained is this practical attitude that throughout the country, nothing can be rightly valued unless its price is assessed (107); even the children put a money value on their toys (108). Though Mrs. Alec Tweedie says

(98) H 72-3. (99) Z 89-90. (100) F II, 655-6. (101) Q1 241.
 (102) B 122. (103) X 156. (104) X 236. (105) G 226.
 (106) C 95. (107) X 175. (108) H 212.

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(98) H 75-5. (99) E 89-90. (100) W 11. 555-6. (101) G 231.
(102) B 122. (103) X 136. (104) X 236. (105) G 236.
(106) C 95. (107) X 175. (108) H 212.

that Americans are too materialistic to have any ideals (109), Smart puts it better: "The American is a practical idealist" (110).

Alert-
ness

Whether it is a symptom of the American keenness of acquisition or natural uncontemplativeness of disposition, the busy-ness of the American is a universally noted phenomenon. Again we have a host of witnesses. The American is more alert than the Englishman (111). There is such an "atmosphere of frightful hurry" here, no one would ever think of saying "Puss! Puss!" to an American cat (112). Since every one pretends to be rushed, American cities are a "paradise of nervous diseases" (113). Though their trains are slow, the Americans "speak of themselves as uncommonly clever, quick, and 'go-ahead'".

Chicagoans "think faster, they walk faster, they talk faster than we do -- aye, they sleep faster, they eat faster, they live faster" than any people in the Old World. People of New York are a "moving people."

The Americans, "earnest and active in all their undertakings," rise earlier, work longer, and sleep less, -- perhaps because free from oppression of climate (114).

Burning the candle at both ends, they miss the "silence, solitude and sadness" which are indispensable ingredients of happiness. Their intense activity is in striking contrast to the nonchalance

(109) W 72. (110) T 30. (111) D 236. (112) G 20-1.
(113) H 92. (114) I 35, 68, 161, 186, 312.

of a country like Russia, and mitigates against the production of artistic and literary masterpieces (115).

Hustle

The New Yorker must be within five minutes of everything, and the American lad, though no more intelligent than the British is three times as alert. Americans are hustlers; all nerve, bright, inventive, alert, preferring "to do things at a rush and under pressure" (116). The Statue of Liberty symbolizes the "unwearied energy", solidity and strength of the American character (117). They drive their trotters and run their business with intense energy (118). They eat too fast, they have not even time to wink, and they run for all trains (119). "Activity as an ideal is an obsession in the American mind." Even on holidays he does not rest. He cannot with respect settle down and retire, but must enter politics or engage in philanthropies. Because he is active rather than esthetic, he is difficult to cultivate (120). His two hundred years of Puritan restraint have generated a power which is now uncoiling like a spring (121), but in Philadelphia at least people have time to say "You're welcome" when you thank them for directions. Generally speaking, the nervous unrest is so unfavorable to the bearing of children that old families are dying out (122). Playing as vigorously as they work, the hour of folded hands and quiet is an unknown luxury.

(115) K 135. (116) L 10,85,189,197. (117) N 134.
 (118) O, 64. (119) R 234-6. (120) T 79,176. (121) U 383.
 (122) V²³ 315.

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(115) K 135. (116) L 10.88.189.197. (117) N 134.
(118) O 64. (119) R 234-e. (120) T 79.196. (121) U 583.
(122) V 315.

Idleness is a vice, and while the Englishman keeps his hands in his pockets, the American keeps his energetically free (123). Even when they sit, their rocking chairs keep them moving (124). They are "quick and cunning to a degree probably unequalled" anywhere; and while technically resting, the American stays up late, is early at his sports, and returns saying he has had a "nice busy" time because "only that which demands energy and effort can give an American pleasure" (125). Yet, to note an exception, should his vacation have taken him to Atlantic City, however able-bodied, he does not mind being pushed along its boardwalk in a "perambulator" (126).

Leisure- In spite of the weight of this testimony,
liness there are other witnesses to the more leisurely aspects. Bennett remarks that our phrase "right away" is meaningless (127); and Birmingham that "right now", although more friendly, means no more speed than the Shakespearian "anon, sir, anon" (128). There is "more hustle than haste;" for a man who waits and curses thirty seconds for an elevator when he could take the steps in fifteen seconds cannot be said to be in a hurry (129). A congregation of immigrants in the cities no doubt contributes to the energy of its life because the very fact of their coming reveals the possession of more than average energy (130). But outside of the

(123) W 106, 192, 203, 206. (124) R 235.

(125) X 144-5, 242, 412. (126) D 109. (127) C 101.

(128) D 21. (129) L 15. (130) U 145.

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 (125) X 144-5. 242. 412. (126) D 199. (127) C 101.
 (128) D 21. (129) L 15. (130) U 145.

cities, the American is a leisurely individual. Merchants of the west loll about with the ease and unconcern of English clubmen (131); and in American homes, although the stranger feels a sense of haste unlike the German "Gemütlichkeit", comfort and serenity are not excluded (132). The not indiscriminating William Archer remarked that he did not meet the "highly electric Anglo Saxon" which Steevens described as the typical American (133).

Lack of Good Taste The American who is indisposed to keep his hands in his pockets is equally ill at ease in "keeping his tongue in his head." Americans love to talk on and on without noticing the silence of a visitor (134).

The Voice In addition to this volubility, he has a tendency to speak too loudly (135), and when to this is added a "sharp nasal tone" (136) of a voice which is hard, rasping and metallic (137), we gather that the visitor in his silence would often prefer that his silence be emulated. However, it is the worst, we are told, in the west (138). Mrs. Tweedie remarks that many voices are charming and are losing the old twang (139).

Writing We are also informed that the American takes liberties with English grammar (140), and if it is

(131) J 47-8. (132) Q1 550. (133) A 46. (134) W 341
 (135) H 166. (136) I 100; R 226. (137) H 166. (138) H 166.
 (139) W 38. (140) R 226.

true that writing maketh an exact man, we may associate the criticism with the fact that we use the telephone and telegraph so much. This is attributed to our lack of time for the amenities of social writing (141). When we do write, our notes have been laughed at for their lack of a well-mannered form (142). We are however informed that the "cultivated American is certainly not so slangy" as the newspaper he reads (143).

Ora-
tory

Americans are "fond of public speaking", and no holiday is regarded as complete without speeches (144). Oratory is characterized by fluency, readiness, enthusiasm, and self-possession; brilliant imagination colors speaking with a wealth of imagery (145).

With regard to the American habit of greeting a new acquaintance with a "string" of questions, we are told that this is not due to rudeness but is simply an evidence of our "kindly interest" in the stranger (146). When we ask him who he is, what he did and what he hoped to do, it is merely an evidence of inquisitiveness regarding any unknown phenomenon; and we in turn would obligingly give him any such information about ourselves (147). If you offend Americans, they tell you so frankly (148), and they are rude "without any intention of being offensive" (149).

(141) H 96. (142) H 93. (143) P 143. (144) N 107.

(145) F II, 799; X 114; L 190. (146) I 53-4. (147) R 226-7.

(148) Y 227. (149) L 192.

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(141) H 96. (142) H 93. (143) P 143. (144) P 107.
(145) P 11. 149; X 114; L 190. (146) I 53-4. (147) X 236-7
(148) Y 237. (149) L 192.

Exag- Again, our speech is seen to smack too
 gera- much of braggadocio and exaggeration. Americans use
 tion superlatives in speaking of everything (150), and this
 is unbearable when it degenerates into jingo vanity
 (151). Gross exaggeration is typical (152); indeed,
 the country reeks with "unheard-of-ness" (153).
 Bigness is mistaken for greatness (154) and is the
 symbol for excellence (155). This exaggeration
 appears in referring to all things American. We are
 "too self-laudatory" (156), and have the idea that
 everything we have is "greatest" (157). When Kipling
 was told that the Palmer House was the "finest hotel
 in the finest city of God Almighty's earth" (158),
 he heard an expression typical of a number that John
 Graham Brooks collected in his "As Others See Us".
 In this, the west outstrips the east (159).

Spit- (159) There are other points upon which our lack
 ting of culture is criticized. Smart remarks that the
 "intellectual and emotional irreverences in the new
 land" are almost as astonishing as the "physical
 indecencies" of Europe (160); but there is one Ameri-
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 It is the "objectionable habit" of chewing (161) and
 spitting (162), or of just spitting (163) and spitting
 "incessantly" (164). This habit is part of the German
 idea of the typical American (165).

(150) H 77. (151) K 317. (152) H 163. (153) R 3. (154) F II,
 761. (155) L 89. (156) A 66. (157) W 401. (158) E 71 note.
 (159) B 187. (160) T 86. (161) I 155-6. (162) L 190.
 (163) H 260; (164) G 27. (165) Q2 9.

Exag-
gera-
tion

Split-
ting

Again, our speech is seen to slack too much of pragmatic and exaggeration. Americans use superlatives in speaking of everything (150), and this is undesirable when it degenerates into jingo vanity (151). Gross exaggeration is typical (152); indeed, the country reeks with "unheard-of-ness" (153). Bigness is mistaken for greatness (154) and is the symbol for excellence (155). This exaggeration appears in referring to all things American. We are "too self-laudatory" (156), and have the idea that everything we have is "greatest" (157). When Kipling was told that the Palmer House was the "finest hotel in the finest city of God Almighty's earth" (158), he heard an expression typical of a number that John Graham Brooks collected in his "As Others See Us". In this, the west outstrips the east (159). There are other points upon which our lack of culture is criticized. Smart remarks that the "intellectual and emotional irreverence in the new land" are almost as astonishing as the "physical indecencies" of Europe (160); but there is one American physical indecency which does not escape comment. It is the "objectionable habit" of chewing (161) and spitting (162), or of just spitting (163) and splitting "incessantly" (164). This habit is part of the German idea of the typical American (165).

(150) H 77. (151) H 81. (152) H 103. (153) H 103. (154) H 103. (155) H 103. (156) H 103. (157) H 103. (158) H 103. (159) H 103. (160) H 103. (161) H 103. (162) H 103. (163) H 103. (164) H 103. (165) H 103.

Travel

Of course it must be remembered that the Americans are not a travelled people and are inclined to think that culture doesn't count (166). Many who have travelled have simply "done" Europe; but there are those who come back with elevated thoughts that influence American life for the best (167). Munsterberg found that the man who had been through college, whether a banker or lawyer, was equal to anyone in culture (168).

Love

And then there is the American love of display. There is an over-fondness for bold and striking effects (169). In dress, there is the lack of refinement, dignity, and restraint of the Englishman (170). A middle class gentleman will wear a diamond as if it were the first thing he bought (171); and we like everything "that glitters even that which is not gold" (172). In expensive hotels and crowded opera houses, there is revealed the great national trait for extravagant and vulgar display (173). It is deemed no good to express anything unless you can impress others (174). If a man belongs to some order he must have a button he can wear (175). Although Steevens remarks that in New York people spend more money than they have in the direction "where there is most swagger to be got for it" (176), and Collier attributes New York vulgarity to its newness (177), Munsterberg finds that in the wealthy

(166) L 95. (167) T 174-5. (168) Q1 601. (169) F II, 761.
 (170) L 235. (171) W 273. (172) R 20. (173) Q1 252.
 (174) V 187. (175) L 54. (176) V 24. (177) H 13.

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(158) L 95. (159) T 174-5. (160) G 1501. (161) P 11. (162) L 835. (163) W 273. (164) R 20. (165) G 1282. (166) V 187. (167) L 54. (170) V 24. (171) H 13.

circles of that city, good taste prevails (178).

In general, there is a lack of a "quiet calmness" which the British "deem essential to the manners of the 'perfect gentleman'" (179).

Sim- We may now note some aspects in which Americans appear more favorably in the eyes of Europeans, and here simplicity and modesty receive honorable mention. In spite of appearances to the contrary, Wagner affirms that the American "loves simplicity" (180). He has no talent for lying, and frankness is a dominant trait (181). This penetrates the higher offices of the church, and "simplicity is one of the great virtues of all the American hierarchy" (182). Hallowe'en is used as an occasion for revealing the fondness for simple diversion (183). The American people are charming and good-natured. They are hearty; they find pleasure in simple things and have many innocent pleasures (184).

Mod- As an illustration of our modesty is the fact that even a minister of religion does not think it beneath his dignity to do the family marketing (185). There is less snobbishness than in England (186), and every one has a concern to be sober, temperate, modest, industrious and God-fearing (187). In connection with the "love of approbation" which one writer describes as an American weakness (188), is Bryce's

(178) Q1 592. (179) I 309. (180) Y 286. (181) Q1 525.
 (182) X 333. (183) Y 231-2. (184) F II, 813-4.
 (185) I 132. (186) F II, 750. (187) Q1 521. (188) R 8.

(178) Q1 522. (179) I 509. (180) Y 286. (181) Q1 525.
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comment that though American conceit used to be a byword, it is steadily declining (189). Arnold Bennett declares that contrary to his expectations, he heard no boasting in America (190). Fraser comments that the American is "never above learning," and is "scaling" his faults (191).

Affa- Also in the social virtues, it would appear
bility that here Americans excel. When fairly treated, the Americans are the most generous, warm-hearted people in the world; they are unaffected in manners, kindly true, and naturally social (192). They have a tendency to minimize inconveniences "by good temper and mutual civility" (193). Though slow in forming friendships, they are quick to make acquaintances (194). The American business man though inclined to be distrustful is easy-going and good-natured (195); to the Englishman in business, who usually prefers to be kept "at arm's length" the American's friendliness may be a bit trying at times (196). American workers are given to "jollyng" and "joshing" like school boys (197). "The American temperament is remarkably youthful, spontaneous in society", and "naive in its diversions" (198).

Magna- This affability extends into magnanimity and
nimity hospitality. In this country there is a sense of human fellowship stronger than in any country in Europe (199).

(189) F II, 781. (190) C 34. (191) L 97. (192) I 308.
(193) A 33. (194) T 171. (195) L 89-90. (196) D 74-5.
(197) L 191. (198) X 395. (199) F II, 604.

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(199) T 11, 791. (200) C 34, (191) A 37, (192) I 308. (193) A 33, (194) T 171, (195) I 32-33, (196) D 74-5. (197) E 191, (198) X 335, (199) T 11, 604.

In general kindness, the native American stands higher than the English or German (200). The American is "large-hearted" (201), and good-naturedness reveals his genuine nobility of soul (202). "The gracious kindness and thoughtful helpfulness of the American is invigorating and delightful" (203). Generosity follows in the path of activity (204), and a successful man mustn't end his life like an egoist (205). In the millions that are given to colleges and schools, a magnificent example of personal charity is afforded (206). This generosity extends also to the churches (207); and the way in which churches all work together for philanthropic ends is striking (208). Many Americans are dominated by the missionary spirit (209).

Hospi-
tality

With common consent, visitors acclaim American hospitality. However busy they may find them, they are always ready to give a stranger "a good time" at their clubs (210). They readily open their houses to strangers and reveal their sincerity in their desire to help (211). Only occasionally harshness is met (212). In all, "Americans are an amazingly sociable and hospitable people beyond all other nations (213). Even if you have to laugh at an American, you will want to shake hands with him. (214).

(200) F II, 724. (201) I 11, 58. (202) Q1 142-3.
 (203) W 327; ~~XXXXXX~~ Q1 549-50. (204) K 269. (205) K 267.
 (206) X 116. (207) X 326. (208) F II, 711. (209) Q1 526.
 (210) A 70. (211) X 395-6. (212) Z 168. (213) D 23-4.
 (214) V 316.

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Sensi- But to laugh at an American is not for him
 tive- to want to shake hands with you! On the contrary,
 ness should he be praised, this he accepts as "simple
 to justice"; should he be criticized, this is resented
 as rank impertinence (215). Mrs. Tweedie opens and
 Criti- closes her book with the same reflection: "Hyper-
 cism sensitiveness is an American sin" (216). It is sug-
 gested that this sensitiveness to criticism arises from
 the satisfaction he feels in himself and in all that
 is his (217).

Emo- We shall have completed our picture of the
 tional Man in the Street as he impresses a visitor by ref-
 erences to his emotional qualities, his attitude to
 Quali- art and religion, and his temperament.
 ties

Had the visionary of Patmos been among the
 visitors to this country, he would have commended us
 for our unlikeness to the Laeticeans whom he wished
 were either cold or hot; for here it seems that we are
 always one or the other. Americans "grow warm sudden-
 ly and cool as suddenly" (218). This quick interplay
 of opposites is attributed by Steevens to the fact that
 we are a mixture of northern Anglo-Saxon and Southern
 European (219), and by Collier to the climate (220).
 And without attempting to assign a cause, we are told
 that the American is "an incurable sentimentalist" (221).

(215) L 3. (216) W 1, cf. 475. (217) H 147, 149; I 104.
 (218) F II, 291. (219) V 309. (220) H 11. (221) D 299,
 cf. W 203; F II, 289; H 54.

General-
five-
ness

But to laugh at an American is not for him
to want to shake hands with you! On the contrary,
should he be praised, this he accepts as "simple
justice"; should he be criticized, this is resented
as rank impertinence (215). Mrs. Tweedle opens and
closes her book with the same reflection: "Hyper-
sensitivity is an American sin" (216). It is sug-
gested that this sensitivity to criticism arises from
the satisfaction he feels in himself and in all that
is his (217).

Emo-
tional
Quali-
ties

We shall have completed our picture of the
man in the street as he impresses a visitor by rel-
erences to his emotional qualities, his attitude to
art and religion, and his temperament.
Had the visionary of Patmos been among the
visitors to this country, he would have commended us
for our unlikeness to the Latins whom he wished
were either cold or hot; for here it seems that we are
always one or the other. Americans "grow warm sudden-
ly and cool as suddenly" (218). This quick interplay
of opposites is attributed by Stevens to the fact that
we are a mixture of northern Anglo-Saxon and Southern
European (219), and by Collier to the climate (220).
And without attempting to assign a cause, we are told
that the American is "an incurable sentimentalist" (221).

(215) L 3, (216) W 1, cf. 475, (217) H 147, 149; I 104
(218) F 11, 231, (219) V 309, (220) H 11, (221) D 299.
cf. W 203; F 11, 289; H 54.

Art

The man who craves satisfaction for his sense of beauty will find a great void in American civilization compared with that of other countries (222). The money-making to which we have referred appears to crush out of his soul the "love of the best things in life" (223). Or again, with a new country to conquer, he has had to be indifferent to the cultivation of the fine arts (224). Yet the American has preserved a feeling for "extraordinary effects of landscape" and "will go further than most men to see natural beauty" (225). However, Münsterberg observed a desire for beauty and culture that was "creeping into every corner of American life" (226), and promoting the wholesale importation of art treasures and artists to provide a foundation for a more cultural education (227).

Music

Though we do not have music in our blood, we have a taste for it, and appreciate its social value (228). Count Vay de Vaya found that the American people though primarily concerned with commerce and politics, were also in earnest in their cultivation of the spiritual life of art (229).

Religion

In religious observance, the American is noted for his general maintenance of a church connection. He has a simple religious sentiment, and is "church-going" (230). Many different sects

(222) B 181. (223) L 95. (224) T 81. (225) T 75.
 (226) Q1 603. (227) K 245. (228) K 244. (229) X 420.
 (230) Z 36, cf. Z 263; B 103; I 64, 110).

independently of the Catholic have developed, O'Rell in 1889 finding one hundred eighty-nine of them (231), and Münsterberg in 1904 finding one hundred forty-eight (232). Many of these brands of food for the soul are indigenous, as are many new foods for the body (233). When Craib was here in 1892, sacred music was more popular than secular (234). But in spite of this general religious interest, a lack of reverence is occasionally noted. Hogan found the suggestion of the first night of a play in the wild rush for seats at a Memorial Day service for the dead (235), and Arnold says the American people are not disciplined in awe (236). The curious way in which they can combine the sacred and the profane is noticed (237). "Books of the contemplative life are increasingly hard to sell" (238).

Opti-
mism

Finally, the American Man in the Street is pre-eminently optimistic. A member of the newest of all great nations, his temperament embodies the qualities of promise. Bounding with the pulse of youth, he surpasses all others in making the best of bad conditions, scanty materials, and rough methods (239). His religious idealism makes his country the land of promise (240). His childlike confidence in human ability makes him face the future fearlessly (241). Always confident that everything will turn

(231) R 170. (232) Q1 499. (233) D 238. (234) I 307.
 (235) N 110. (236) B 176; ~~235~~ W 418, 248. (237) R 11-12
 (238) T 10. (239) FI, 172-3; F II, 282, 350, 790.
 (240) J 203 f. (241) P 274.

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 In 1880 finding one hundred eighty-nine of them (232)
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 popular than secular (235). But in spite of this
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 (242). Always confident that everything will turn

(241) A 170. (242) A 170. (243) A 170. (244) A 170.
 (245) A 170. (246) A 170. (247) A 170. (248) A 170.
 (249) A 170. (250) A 170. (251) A 170. (252) A 170.
 (253) A 170. (254) A 170. (255) A 170. (256) A 170.
 (257) A 170. (258) A 170. (259) A 170. (260) A 170.

out all right, he can whistle more than anyone else in the world (242). With his "imperturbably optimism" he looks at "all evils as transitory" (243).

Unalarmed by difficulties and stirred ever by noble dreams, he reveals his most remarkable quality (244). He "has taken a bath in a fountain of youth" (245).

(242) Q1 142, 234, 480. (243) S 277, 400.
(244) T 82-3, 86, 245; X 409.
(245). Y 227.

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(245) Y 227.
 (244) T 82-2. 86. 243; X 402.
 (243) 21 122, 224, 400. (242) 2 271, 400.

CHAPTER II

HIS WIFE

(The American Woman)

Superior We agree with the author who says that women
to should have a chapter to themselves. He adds indeed
Man that men who have studied American life would say that
they are the entire story (1). Men who write books on
England do not devote a chapter to women, but all people
who write on the United States must treat them
separately to do justice to the American scene (2).
There are a million and a half more men than women.
This "scarcity improves her relative value" (3). The
elsewhere universal preference for a baby boy is here
given to the baby girl. A boy finds that he must stand
while his sister sits; he must work that she might
shine. Thus pampered, she tends to become imperious;
and though social equality between man and woman is the
creed, it actually turns out that man is socially
inferior, and finds himself performing household chores
as a matter of course (4). Man's comfort is "sub-
ordinated" to the woman's (5).

Physique There is however much more than scarcity to
recommend the American woman. She can shine in her
intrinsic beauty, for she is the best looking lady in
the world (6). Her hands and feet are the daintiest
(7). Prettier than all others (8), one Frenchman says
her complexion is always fresh (9) while another says

(1) Q1 557. (2) P 45-6. (3) H 235. (4) Q1 558, 572.

(5) H 235. (6) W 107. (7) R 19. (8) V 116. (9) K 284.

that her color would be improved if the houses were not so over-heated, and attributes her beauty to her animation of face (10). She walks well (11). Her carriage firm, the German Münsterberg comments she is something like the English girl, but not so stiff (12). Though her figure is smaller than in the old country (13), her beauty is delicate (14). Vassar girls are like Greek goddesses (15). New York contains a clear majority of notably good-looking women (16), and both there and in New England, they understand the "art of growing old with grace and dignity" (17). In the west they are morally stronger, and more attractive (18).

Dress

In dress, an American woman that is untidy is a rarity (19). Though there are more low dresses and diamond tiaras in London, there are more smart-looking tidy women in New York (20). As a rule, they dress well as if for conquest, and surpass men in smartness (21). Yet there is a lack of individuality and originality, giving a nine-pin effect (22). American wives are inclined to dress more elaborately than English wives (23), extending even to the wearing of diamonds in the morning (24). Burne-Jones was amazed at the large number of spectacled women in Boston (25).

(10) R 18-19. (11) W 193; G 53. (12) Q1 559. (13) I 164.
 (14) T 197. (15) K 332. (16) A 47. (17) X 231. (18) K 330.
 (19) W 108. (20) W 335. (21) R 103; I 164; D 221-3.
 (22) W 47. (23) W 14. (24) R 24. (25) G 184.

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 not so over-heated, and attributed her beauty to her
 animation of face (10). The white wife (11). Her
 carriage time, the German Ambassador's comments she
 is something like the English girl, but not so well
 (12). Though her figure is smaller than in the old
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 a clear majority of notably good-looking women (16).
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 the "art of growing old with grace and dignity" (17).
 in the west they are morally stronger, and more
 attractive (18).

These

In these, an American woman that is really
 is a rarity (19). Though there are more low dresses
 and diamond tiaras in London, there are more smart-
 looking tidy women in New York (20). As a rule,
 they dress well as if for company, and surpass men
 in elegance (21). Yet there is a lack of individual-
 ized and originality, giving a mass-pin effect (22).
 American wives are inclined to dress more elaborately
 than English wives (23), extending even to the
 wearing of diamonds in the morning (24). Extra-jogged
 was named at the large number of speckled women in
 Boston (25).

(10) R 10-10, (11) W 10-10, (12) G 10-10, (13) F 10-10, (14) F 10-10, (15) F 10-10, (16) F 10-10, (17) F 10-10, (18) F 10-10, (19) F 10-10, (20) F 10-10, (21) F 10-10, (22) F 10-10, (23) F 10-10, (24) F 10-10, (25) F 10-10.

General As for the other general characteristics of

Tributes American women, we may count a multitude of complimentary epithets. We state them baldly, leaving the reader to combine them into a composite:-

Charming, unaffected, free, happy (26); "singularly charming", unassuming, amazingly vital and intelligent, stimulatingly and agreeably unexpected (27); democratic (28); free, brave, modest, self-confident, enthusiastic, gladly ingratiating (29); hospitable, sociable, comfortable (30); self-determinable, uniquely sweet and gentle (31); quick-witted, subtly mischievous, freshly enthusiastic, resolute, self-controlled (32); Gibsonianly brilliant and enchanting, lively, strong, charming, noble, energetic, practical, idealistic, enthusiastic (33); bright, elegant, charmingly natural, gay, spirited, distinguished, graceful, adaptable (34); discriminatingly intellectual (35); bright, vivacious, intelligent, attractive (36); delightfully entertaining, superlatively capable (37); gracious, "truly womanly" (38). No where do we find either of the two epithets which are sometimes regarded as acceptable in women: coy, retiring (or reticent).

Highly Towards such an acme of femininity as we

Respected have described, we are not surprised to be told that the soft-hearted American puts woman on a pedestal (39).

(26) B 168. (27) D 212, 226, 227, 233. (28) G 45. (29) K 68, 114, 153, 284. (30) J 143. (31) L 23, 89. (32) Q1 559. (33) Q2 130-1. (34) R 72, 103, 105, 211. (35) T 197. (36) U 324-5. (37) W 104, 248. (38) Y 222. (39) L 89.

General

As for the other general characteristics of

tribes American women, we may count a multitude of complex

mentary epithets. We state them briefly, leaving the

reader to combine them into a composite:-

Charming, unaffected, free, happy (30); "stunningly

charming", unassuming, amazingly vital and intelligent

gent, stimulatingly and agreeably unexpected (31);

democratic (32); free, brave, modest, self-confident,

enthusiastic, gladly acknowledging (33); modest,

social, comfortable (34); self-determined, unique

ly sweet and gentle (35); quick-witted, rapidly mis-

chievous, freshly enthusiastic, resourceful, self-

controlled (36); occasionally brilliant and enthusiastic

lively, strong, charming, noble, energetic, practical

idealistic, enthusiastic (37); bright, elegant,

charmingly natural, gay, spirited, distinguished

graceful, adaptable (38); discriminatingly intelli-

gent (39); bright, vivacious, intelligent, attractive

(40); delightfully entertaining, expertly capable

(41); graceful, "trimly womanly" (42). No white co-

we find either of the two epithets which are some-

times regarded as acceptable in women: coy,

retiring (or reticent).

Towards such an acre of femininity as we

Requested have described, we are not surprised to be told that

the half-hearted American puts women on a pedestal (43).

(44) U 324-3 (37) W 104, 248. (38) Y 222. (39) L 83.

(40) G2 130-1. (34) E 72, 103, 105, 211. (35) F 197.

(41) L 114, 153, 284. (30) L 143. (31) L 23, 80. (32) G1 559.

(42) U 105. (43) U 105. (44) U 105.

A Frenchman counsels Englishmen to copy the American in his treatment of her (40), and an Irishman mentions that the difference between the Englishman's and the American's courtesy to woman is that the former's is due to his chivalry while the latter's is due to her right of reverence (41). It is in all sincerity that he gives her the first place (42). "Love of woman is innate in the American" (43). However lenient our men are to wrong-doers in general, towards offenses to women they are strikingly severe (44). On the street he respectfully lowers his eyes as he gives place to her, and in a trolley he would rather stand than share the seat she occupies (45). This respect extends to women of everyclass(46), and even the charwoman is a lady (47). This respect for woman is one of the strongholds of American life (48).

Mental and Cul- tural Gifts	The United States leads the world in the position of its women (49). Again, in comparison with the men folk, the women are more intelligent and more learned in arts, graces, and manners (50). Whereas the European girl, educated independently, has a simple faith in the superiority of man, the American girl sees in school the boy's carelessness and laziness and feels an intellectual superiority (51). A woman observer says that women have more freedom than men (52), and again that in the lower groups,
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(40) R 94. (41) D 234-5. (42) Q1 563. (43) R 26.
 (44) F II 281; R 94-5. (45) R 70. (46) Q1 523. (47) G 45.
 (48) Y 268. (49) P 59. (50) P 62. (51) Q1 579. (52)W 33 5,
 cf. Y 222.

(40) P 84. (41) D 834-5. (42) P 333. (43) P 33. (44) P 33. (45) P 33. (46) P 33. (47) P 33. (48) P 33. (49) P 33. (50) P 33. (51) P 33. (52) P 33. (53) P 33. (54) P 33. (55) P 33. (56) P 33. (57) P 33. (58) P 33. (59) P 33. (60) P 33. (61) P 33. (62) P 33. (63) P 33. (64) P 33. (65) P 33. (66) P 33. (67) P 33. (68) P 33. (69) P 33. (70) P 33. (71) P 33. (72) P 33. (73) P 33. (74) P 33. (75) P 33. (76) P 33. (77) P 33. (78) P 33. (79) P 33. (80) P 33. (81) P 33. (82) P 33. (83) P 33. (84) P 33. (85) P 33. (86) P 33. (87) P 33. (88) P 33. (89) P 33. (90) P 33. (91) P 33. (92) P 33. (93) P 33. (94) P 33. (95) P 33. (96) P 33. (97) P 33. (98) P 33. (99) P 33. (100) P 33.

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 in his treatment of her (40). And an Irishman mentions
 that the difference between the Englishman's and the
 American's courtesy to women is that the latter's is
 due to his civility while the former's is due to his
 right of reverence (41). It is in all instances that
 he gives her the first place (42). "Love of woman
 is innate in the American" (43). However, I think our
 men are to wrong-doers in general, towards offences to
 women they are strikingly severe (44). On the street
 he respectfully lowers his eyes as he gives place to
 her, and in a crowd he would rather stand than crowd
 the seat she occupies (45). This respect extends to
 women of every class (46), and even the unknown is a
 lady (47). This respect for women is one of the
 characteristics of American life (48).

Mental and Cult- tural Gifts	The United States leads the world in the position of the woman (49). Again, in comparison with the men folk, the women are more intelligent and more learned in arts, science, and literature (50). Whereas the European girl, educated independently, has a simple faith in the superiority of man, the American girl, reared in school, the boy's caretaker, and business and feels an intellectual superiority (51). A woman observer says that women have more freedom than men (52), and again that in the lower groups,
--	--

men are more rude than their ladies (53). In their humor they are more sarcastic (54). They "strive after culture" (55) and "take refuge in endless books on etiquette" (56). The gift of public speaking is common among them (57).

Inter- Three authors comment upon the reciprocal
national attractiveness between the European man and the
Marriage American girl. She is attracted to him perhaps
because she wants a husband who will be her lord and
master, or because the Old World from which he comes
has an appealing glamor (58). Or perhaps being
stupid and rich, she is in love with a French, Eng-
lish or Italian title (59), but one author comments
that the man counts more than the coronet (60).
She is attractive to him perhaps because of her
wealth; or because of her beauty and desirability
as a wife and potential mother (61).

Free- Before marriage the American girl enjoys
dom the liberty of association with men to an extent
astonishing to a European (62). This habit of men's
society increases her chances for making a good match;
and she asks herself not: "What kind of man shall I
suit?" but "What kind of man shall I choose?" (63).

Feted "American society is a government of the
women, by the women, for the women" (64); or rather
it is the young woman who finds the world at her

(53)W 335. (54) R 112. (55) W 121. (56) W 334. (57) W 116.
(58) U 325. (59) R 28, 75. (60) D 231. (61) U 319, 324;
D 230. (62)R 68; ~~(62)~~ Q1 578. (63) R 74. (64) Q1 571;

cf. H
241-4.

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(53) W 335. (54) A 115. (55) W 117. (56) W 334. (57) W 116.
 (58) U 326. (59) A 231. (60) B 231. (61) U 319. (62) W 334.
 (63) W 330. (64) W 331. (65) A 231. (66) A 231. (67) A 231. (68) A 231. (69) A 231. (70) A 231. (71) A 231. (72) A 231. (73) A 231. (74) A 231. (75) A 231. (76) A 231. (77) A 231. (78) A 231. (79) A 231. (80) A 231. (81) A 231. (82) A 231. (83) A 231. (84) A 231. (85) A 231. (86) A 231. (87) A 231. (88) A 231. (89) A 231. (90) A 231. (91) A 231. (92) A 231. (93) A 231. (94) A 231. (95) A 231. (96) A 231. (97) A 231. (98) A 231. (99) A 231. (100) A 231.

feet (65). For the sake of the girls, the women are relegated to a "back seat," and debutantes are made the center of amusement and attention (66). It is a peculiar social custom of the United States that the "American girl allows her admirers to spend their money on her." This is so much a matter of habit that she feels no more obligation than an English girl would for the opening of a door (67).

Morality

In view of her unique freedom, it is interesting to read that no where in the world is a girl so safe as in America (68), and that in the United States sensuality is reduced to a minimum (69). In school, "offenses against morality are punished with inexorable severity" (70) and women themselves will tar and feather a guilty woman (71). "The innocence of the American girl is neither an affectation, nor a prejudiced fable, nor a piece of stupidity" (72). In Europe, though she may be extravagant, the American woman "seldom gives any occasion for scandal" (73).

Spending

The American Eve does not spin; she spends. Fearing "to appear thrifty," she becomes extravagant and men become money-making machines (74). Her luxury is to symbolize her social position (75) and she is a member of an "aristocracy in a democracy" (76). Men are content to let the women spend the money they toil for (77); and pay the bills, not because they are

(65) F II 737. (66) W 335, 48-9. (67) P 31-2. (68) Q1 545; G 75. (69) K 252. (70) X 430. (71) R 96. (72) P 56. (73) U 327; cf. D 214. (74) W 90; cf. H 196-7. (75) Q1 571. (76) K 284. (77) G 75.

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(65) E 11 730. (66) W 100. (67) E 11 730. (68) E 11 730.
 (69) E 11 730. (70) E 11 730. (71) E 11 730. (72) E 11 730.
 (73) E 11 730. (74) W 100. (75) E 11 730. (76) E 11 730.
 (77) E 11 730.

spineless, but simply from habit (78). The ease with which the men make money is a complement of the ease with which the women spend it; and the wife has ready access to the husband's capital (79).

Her Home As the Englishman's home is his castle, the American's home is his wife's. She gets her way without wheedling or flattering her husband as the English do (80); in fact, she gets too little of his society (81). Only here is the leisure class composed only of women (82), but we are not to think that this means she is a particularly home-loving person. The German "Frau" finds domestic activity a source of joy, but the American wife looks upon housework as a necessary evil. Her home is used only as a social background (83). This anti-domestic feeling is reflected among the lower strata where a mill girl would look upon housework as an indignity (84). Being regarded as commonplace, there is a general tendency to reduce it to a minimum (85).

Hospitality In considering the American man we paid abundant tribute to his hospitality. In this there is no difference between him and his wife. Women make amiable hostesses (86), readily creating an atmosphere of friendliness (87). They keep the home bright and comfortable (88), and it is from them that the home gets its intellectual tone (89). They can

(78) H 244-5. (79) R 26, 107; cf. L 24. (80) F II, 737.
 (81) W 50. (82) P 49. (83) Q1 580; Q2 148. (84) Q2 148.
 (85) Q2 147. (86) R 61. (87) Y 224. (88) I 164.
 (89) X 133.

epithets, but also from habit (70). The case with which the man made money is a comment of the case with which the woman spent it; and the wife was ready access to the husband's capital (71).

As the Englishman's home is his castle, the American's home is his wife's. The wife has way without needing or flattery her husband as the English do (80). In fact, she gets too little of his society (81). Only here is the leisure class composed only of women (82), but we are not to think that this means she is a particularly home-loving person. The German "Frau" finds domestic activity a source of joy, but the American wife looks upon housework as a necessary evil. Her home is used only as a social background (83). This anti-domestic feeling is reflected among the lower strata where a mill girl would look upon housework as an indignity (84). Being regarded as commonplace, there is a general tendency to reduce it to a minimum (85).

In considering the American man we find abundant tribute to his hospitality. In this there is no difference between him and his wife. Women make capable hostesses (86), readily creating an atmosphere of friendliness (87). They keep the home bright and comfortable (88), and it is from them that the home gets its intellectual tone (89). They can

her
Home

though
society

(70) A 22-5. (71) A 20. 107. 57. 24. (80) 7 11. 12.
(81) W 20. (82) 7 40. (83) 21 280. 52 128. (84) 52 224.
(85) 52 147. (86) A 51. (87) 7 224. (88) 1 124.
(89) X 123.

talk delightfully upon all subjects (90). The accumulation of labor-saving devices helps them to retain this reputation for intelligence (91). Their beautiful hospitality was one of the reasons why Mrs. Tweedie loved American women (92). She also pays tribute to their cooking (93) and their ability to do anything, from the commonest tasks to presiding over a table (94). She criticizes the habit of dining out, and the over-lavishness of luncheons (95)^a.

It is noteworthy to us today that in all the books listed in the bibliography, there is only one reference to the popularity of divorce (95)^b.

Careers

We shall complete our discussion of the American woman by reference to her activities in business and public life. There is no sentiment against a girl's devoting herself to work (96), and all professions are open to them (97). They are even attracted to scientific pursuits (98). Whereas in Europe a woman would work only if the family funds were low, in America she simply likes a career of her own (99). While in Germany a college education is designed to make women more marriageable, in America the opposite tendency is apparent (100). Marriage is not the destiny of women in America (101). In one book Münsterberg says that because of the preoccupation of the men with the physical development of the

(90) D 225. (91) J 142-3. (92) W 271. (93) W 141. (94) W 94, 100. (95)^a W 96, 125. (96) K 252. (97) W 80. (98) U 311. (95)^b G 121.
(99) Q1 567. (100) Q2 136-9. (101) Q1 577-8; cf. J 146.

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(90) D 223. (91) A 124-5. (92) W 111. (93) W 111. (94)
 22. 100. (95) 122. (96) 122. (97) W 30. (98) 121.
 (99) 121. (100) 121. (101) 121. (102) 121.

country, the fostering of European culture has been left to the women, and this superiority of culture may make marriage less welcome (102); and in his other book says that she stays single rather than marry an intellectual inferior (103). Also the education of women and sex equality have opened up for women a variety of careers (104).

In With regard to the political influence of
Poli- women, O'Rell raised his eyebrows at the fact that in
tics the United States where women are spoiled children,
 they should ask for complete emancipation (105); and
 Munsterberg thought that it was hardly likely that
 voting would become constitutional (106). Only since
 1896 have women been at all disposed to "stump" in
 presidential campaigns (107). The American women
 take less part in politics than the European (108)
 and they do less political work here than in England
 (109). Though the American woman claims rights, she
 does not want to destroy men's reverence for her (110);
 and her emancipation has left her not "less but rather
 the more womanly than her less-emancipated sisters
 of other countries" (111).

Clubs In their club life they try to show that
 they are as capable as men (112), and their comments
 there are as intelligent as men's (113). Many of their
 clubs are doing good solid work (114). As successors

(102) Q2 169. (103) Q1 579-80. (104) F II, 742. (105) R 84.
(106) Q1 573. (107) S 172. (108) F II, 731. (109) W 425.
(110) D 235. (111) J 147. (112) T 194. (113) R 247.
(114) W 114.

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 (110) B 332, (111) J 147, (112) T 194, (113) R 247.
 (108) Q1 573, (107) B 172, (108) Y 17, 731, (109) W 283.
 (105) 45 159, (103) 41 575-58, (104) 1 12, 712, 713, 714.

of their pioneer sisters they openly take part in public patriotism (115); and the "Colonial Dames" and "Daughters of the American Revolution" keep alive the traditions of early times (116).

Public Life Their disinterest in politics to which we have referred is continued by the fact that politics with its "machines" and "bosses" are looked upon by them as contemptible. There are however other areas of public life which are left to them, and they find "noble employment for their faculties" in "moral and philanthropic movements." (117) It is incredible how much high-minded women can accomplish (118). The women are the real supporters of the ideal endeavors: the strife for truth and beauty, morality, religion, education, and social reform. Eighty-five per cent of theatre patrons are women, and ninety-five per cent of the attendants at art exhibits (119). In direct contrast to the Orient where the whole culture is the work of man, all the non-political functions of public life bear the stamp of the feminine taste, and the higher culture is in danger of effemination (120).

Social Wel- fare Our final word is upon their contribution to social welfare. Women have organized for the cleaning and beautifying of cities (121). They increasingly oppose bad conditions for children, and

(115) K 111. (116) W 224. (117) S 172. (118) Q1 571. (119) Q2 157. (120) Q2 158. (121) K 295-6.

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(115) K 111. (116) W 222. (117) 3 115. (118) 2 101.
(119) 62 127. (120) 62 128. (121) K 222-3.

influence the development of playgrounds and legislation against child labor (122). They have successfully supported the introduction of laws that tend to mitigate the drink evil (123); their righteous wrath and energy have succeeded in upsetting the established order. "Women make nations," and they have "largely contributed to the success of the United States" (124). "No country seems to owe more to its women than America does, nor to owe to them so much of what is best in social institutions, and in the beliefs that govern conduct" (125).

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CHAPTER III

THE SKYLINE

(American Architecture)

Nation- Architecture has been poetically described
 al as frozen music. Historically, music has had four
 Archi- major schools: the Italian, French, English, and
 tectures German, each interrelated and influencing each other
 mutually. Similarly the architecture of the Old World
 has definite national characteristics, the features of
 each being carved in brick and stone. In more recent
 times, newer national schools of music have developed,
 such as the Russian, Scandinavian, and the Spanish.
 Finally there is being developed an American school,
 which while borrowing from all the historical schools,
 has yet characteristics of its own.

Compos- It was just this sort of composite of
 ite national characteristics that we found the typical
 Archi- American man to be, and now we may note the same thing
 tecture in regard to American architecture. It is United States
 history in concrete. Boston for example, -- a really
 "most attractive town," -- is more English than any
 other American city (1). Again, the skyline of
 Newark, New Jersey, shows varied nationalities: there
 are "slender Gothic spires, gilt Russian domes, Eng-
 lish belfries, Bavarian radish-shaped gables, and
 homely-looking Hungarian steeples" (2). Chicago,

(1) G 181. (2) X 82.

Section-

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Architecture has been positively described as frozen music. Historically, music has had four major schools: the Italian, French, English, and German, each interrelated and influencing each other mutually. Similarly the architecture of the Old World has definite national characteristics, the features of each being carved in brick and stone. In more recent times, newer national schools of music have developed, such as the Russian, Scandinavian, and the Spanish. Finally there is being developed an American school, which while borrowing from all the historical schools, has yet characteristics of its own.

Compos-

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"It was just this sort of composite of national characteristics that we found the typical American man to be, and now we may note the same thing in regard to American architecture. It is United States history in concrete. Boston for example, -- a really "most attractive town," -- is more English than any other American city (1). Again, the skyline of Newark, New Jersey, shows varied nationalities: there are "slender Gothic spires, gilt Russian domes, Moorish bell-towers, Bavarian red-tiled gables, and homey-looking Hungarian steeples" (2). Chicago,

though too dirty a child to make you want to fondle it, is not without "much that is beautiful" (3). Its "mammoth buildings" have a "proportion and dignity" which the "jagged sky-line of Manhattan" lacks (4); but yet, as a whole, without a general plan, the city is one "hoarse cry" for discipline, in which cry there is a promise of new conceptions and the growth of a more beautiful age (5). New York architecture is characterized by "fierce individualism" (6). Everywhere the European receives a shock of pleasure for he finds bits of old Venice or chunks of Florentine transported bodily to the new world (7). With a "horrible period" following the Civil War (8), much mediocre architecture exists; but the general effect is fine and generous (9). In its extensive use of steel and iron, America makes a distinctive contribution (10). To every one who is mature enough to see beauty in that to which he is not accustomed, the skyline of an American city will be found striking in its strength, energy, and life (11).

Homes

A discussion of the way in which the external appearance of houses impress the European visitor may begin with a reference to particular places. Consistent with what we have said, there is here no architectural style that can be called distinctively American. The first builders could

(3) O 200, 204. (4) A 88. (5) Z 61-3. (6) A 28.
 (7) A 28. (8) Q1 487; T 132. (9) C 29. (10) X 238.
 (11) Q1 485; cf. A 29).

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(3) O.E.D. 1894. (4) A.S.P. 1894. (5) A.S.P. 1894. (6) A.S.P. 1894.
(7) A.S.P. 1894. (8) A.S.P. 1894. (9) A.S.P. 1894. (10) A.S.P. 1894.
(11) A.S.P. 1894. (12) A.S.P. 1894.

not wait to study what was beautiful in house buildings, but simply imitated the Mother country (12). Yet when attention was first directed to the beauties of architecture, unlike the Europeans, who gave their primary attention to public buildings, the Americans made their homes beautiful before their public buildings (13). Bennett speaks of the houses as giving the appearance of both clinging to the past, and leaning to the future (14).

The houses of Chicago embody all known styles of architecture, including the Florentine, English, Moorish, Gothic, Greek, Swiss, and French, so there is eccentricity but never monotony (15). The red or gray granite homes of the great merchants along the Lake Shore Drive do not fail to impress (16). In New York Mrs. Tweedie could not help admiring its beautiful houses (17). America is said to do its best house building in suburbia (18). The homes of Brooklyn present, if not a classical appearance, at least a pleasant one (19). In New England the white-painted homes with their antiquated touch are striking for the purity of their appearance (20). With regard to the fine houses of Newport, they are said to show a lack of taste (21). Concord is regarded as worth a visit independent of its historical interest (22). The houses of Cambridge are spoken

(12) Q1 484-5. (13) Q1 489. (14) C 67. (15) R 44.
 (16) V 146; X 179-80. (17) W 17. (18) Y 215. (19) I 180.
 (20) I 267. (21) G 131. (22) A 80.

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 (16) V 145; X 142-50. (17) V 17. (18) Y 215. (19) I 150.
 (20) I 207. (21) A 231. (22) A 80. A

of as a distinctive American type (23).

Workers

The houses of the working classes are said to be much better than the British (24), but this is inconsistent with Well's comment who says that the toiling immigrants have worse homes than in the Old Country (25). The slums of New York with their bright paint are not so "dank" as those of London (26); but England has no slums as bad as those of Pittsburg (27).

Use

of

Wood

The wooden exterior of our frame houses excites attention because it is unlike anything seen in Europe. It is suggested that they are due to our abundance of this material, to the fact that it is more easily worked than stone, and to its adaptability for speedy construction (28); or, again, that it is due to the American's being influenced by the thought of improvement. While the Englishman builds a structure to last three hundred years, the American thinks that the kind of house he wants is not the kind his children will want (29).

With-

out

Walls

The absence of walls or hedgerows around American houses is another decided difference from the European custom (30). This is attributed to our gregariousness (31) or to our sociability (32); or again, it is evidence of our confidence in our neighbor or of our "indifference to privacy" (33).

(23) C 65. (24) I 105. (25) Z 144. (26) A 24; cf. X 29.
 (27) L 52. (28) I 154. (29) E 91. (30) Y 46-7. (31) P 44.
 (32) D 263. (33) G 155.

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(23) C 66. (24) I 105. (25) I 144. (26) A 24. (27) A 24.
(27) I 32. (28) I 134. (29) E 91. (30) Y 46-7. (31) I 44.
(32) D 263. (33) G 135.

Gardens

In spite of our love for flowers, comparatively, we have but very few gardens (34). The fact that New York City has grass only in Central Park and has no gardens, private or public (35), is an illustration of this general truth. But in Kansas City the graceful houses patterned after English cottages are spread out with gardens (36), and around Cincinnati many fine residences have lovely gardens (37). In general, the existence of Flower Days such as Azalea and Lilac Sundays show that a disposition for gardening is rapidly developing (38).

Piazzas

Again our piazzas are a distinctly American characteristic (39). This American institution contributes to our happiness in summer days (40) and is another symbol of our spirit of sociability. Though somewhat public in winter when incased in glass, we do not, of course, object to that! (41) Our screens though not directly an architecturally feature are directly an American product, and though they may darken our rooms, they are necessary in view of the "prodigious quantity" of whirring American insects (42).

Comfort

Leaving now the exterior and going within, we are not sure whether they present or do not present an atmosphere of comfort; for on the one hand, we are told that there is little comfort here

(34) D 239; Y 48. (35) R 31. (36) K 151 (37) I 105.
 (38) K 300. (39) A 30; Y 216. (40) G 204. (41) D 260.
 (42) K 166; Y 217.

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(34) D 239; Y 48. (35) R 21. (36) R 151 (37) I 102.
(38) R 300. (39) A 301 Y 318. (40) G 204. (41) D 250.
(42) K 166; Y 217.

and the few charming homes we have are not typical (43); and on the other hand, that however uncomfortable the visitor may be when travelling, he finds here the most comfortable homes in the world (44). On the question of the lack of privacy within our homes, there is however unanimity of comment. The American way of having two or three rooms opening into one another (45) is unique. This makes privacy impossible (46), and is yet another symbol of our sociability and hospitality (47).

Furni-
ture

With regard to the furnishings of our homes, though one writer remarks that they sometimes show only the money spent, and sometimes are in different strata of luxury revealing differences in the particular family's changes of fortune (48), in the main the comments are complimentary. Since 1876 the taste for color and draperies has been stimulated by expositions such as those at Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis (49); and all over the country are many indications and proofs that we "have a special aptitude for artistic design, and a high appreciation of the 'beautiful'" (50). Our furniture though sometimes luxurious, is modest and in good taste (51). We are "fond of carving" and it is "delicately done" (52). Our wanderings in the Old World have enriched our homes, and the "simplicity and humanity" of the

(43) W 24-5. (44) C 116. (45) A 29. (46) W 20; G 41. (47) D 257.
(48) T 132. (49) Q1 492. (50) I 185. (51) R 44, 48;
I 132. (52) I 306.

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Form-
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early and late Renaissance has fascinated us (53).

Whatever may have been our extremes in architecture, our houses are more convenient for domestic tasks than houses ever were before (54).

Plumbing We cannot conclude our discussion of American homes without reference to our superior plumbing. A luxurious bathroom is an American institution (55). Bathing is made so easy that it ceases to be virtuous (56); even an Englishman could revel in a snow white bath! (57)

HEATING The homes are perfectly heated (58); that is, when not overheated (59), so that it becomes no test of courage to get out of bed (60). If the absence of doors has been noted as a singular feature, we may ask of what use would they be if we had them? We at least have air circulating in the summer, and in the winter with our central heating system, we need no closed doors to shut out the cold (61).

Business Houses In America, the "Land of Contrasts," as Muirhead entitles his book, nowhere is there a greater contrast than that between residential and business houses. In contrast to the light, space, and homelikeness of the former is the height, narrowness, noise, monotony, dirt and sordid squalor of the latter (62). Beyond that general note, the

(53) J 145. (54) T 227-8; Y 213. (55) Y 219 (56) D 250.
 (57) G 55. (58) V 22; Y 217. (59) W 39. (60) D 249.
 (61) W 20. (62) P 207.

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narrowness, noise, monotony, dirt and sordid splendor
of the latter (62). Beyond that general note, the

(53) J 145. (54) Y 237-8; Y 213. (55) Y 219 (56) D 230.
(57) G 55. (58) Y 23; Y 217. (59) F 39. (60) D 249.
(61) W 20. (62) F 207.

visitors were almost entirely silent with regard to business architecture, except of course with regard to the all-impressive skyscraper. How does this "purely American invention" (63) impress them? Their answers vary. To Fraser they were not beautiful (64); but to Mrs. Tweedie who visited New York six times, they were at first hideous, but thirteen years later in the dignified magnificence of their sheer height, she came to think them beautiful (65). Archer found them not ugly but "grandiose" (66); and Wagner, though looking upon them as "monstrosities," was struck with their uniqueness (67). Bennett said of the Flatiron Building, which was the newest thing in skyscrapers in 1902 (68) that, though the building was really ugly, it gave him thrill (69). Similarly, the Metropolitan Building was grand but ugly (70). Burne-Jones also referred to skyscrapers as "hideous" (71).

Sky- The skyscrapers indicate the spirit of
scrapers modern New York (72), and stand as commercial monuments of the United States (73). Their outstanding characteristic is "exuberance." (74). They are a monument of "egotism, ostentation and self-advertisement" (75); yet their beauty at dusk, and stupendousness at night inspire much American poetry (76), and they symbolize an "upward-striving" (77).

(63) X 238. (64) L 11 (65) W 16. (66) A 11. (67) Y 23-4.
(68) L 6. (69) C 36. (70) C 36. (71) G 19. (72) G 19-20.
(73) Y 23. (74) D 84). (75) K 7. (76) C 37. (77) A 20.

visitors were almost entirely silent with regard to business architecture, except of course with regard to the all-impressive skyscraper. How does this "purely American invention" (65) impress them? Their answers vary. To Archer they were not beautiful (64); but to Mrs. Tweedie who visited New York six times, they were at first hideous, but thirteen years later in the dimmed magnificence of their sheer height, she came to think them beautiful (65). Archer found them not ugly but "grandiose" (66); and Wagner, though looking upon them as "monstrous," was struck with their majesty (67). Bennett said of the Flatiron Building, which was the newest thing in skyscrapers in 1902 (68) that, though the building was really ugly, it gave him thrill (69). Similarly, the Metropolitan Building was grand but ugly (70). Burne-Jones also referred to skyscrapers as "hideous" (71).

The skyscrapers indicate the spirit of skyscraper modern New York (72), and stand as commercial monuments of the United States (73). Their outstanding characteristic is "exuberance" (74). They are a monument of "egotism, ostentation and self-advertisement" (75); yet their beauty is quick and spontaneous at night inspire such American poetry (76), and they epitomize an "upward-striving" (77).

(73) Y 23. (74) D 84. (75) K 7. (76) C 37. (77) A 20.
(65) X 238. (66) L 11. (67) W 18. (68) A 11. (69) Y 23.
(68) L 6. (69) C 36. (70) C 36. (71) G 12. (72) E 12-20.

At all events, they make a skyline that is unique. Compared with any European town where only factory chimneys rival the eminence of lofty towers and holy spires reaching upward unto heaven, the least attractive peculiarity of the skyscrapers is the way in which they "dwarf and belittle" the nearby churches (78).

Schools

With regard to our grammar and high school buildings, in the pre-war days with which we are dealing, in view of the generality of comment by more recent visitors, the silence of visitors is conspicuous. It appears that at various universities particular buildings call for favorable comment. Bryce found no university of imposing architectural merit, though the campuses of Rochester, Yale, and Harvard have a pleasing effect; only the University of Wisconsin has a setting as agreeable as the women's schools, Vassar and Wellesley. The college buildings of the west are showy, evidently to attract attention (79). Bennett found the architecture of Columbia partly noble and partly ugly (80), and Wells described it as overwhelming (81). The latter visitor was also impressed by the splendid buildings at Leland-Stanford Junior University (82). Archer mentioned especially the Houston Club of the University of Pennsylvania as being very beautiful (83). Vaya

(78) G 61; D 80-1. (79) F II, 674-5. (80) C 155.
 (81) Z 211. (82) Z 93. (83) A 30.

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found the Harvard buildings too extravagantly magnificent for their purpose (84), and speaks of the Harvard Medical School with its classic white marble as being "one of the finest specimens of American architecture." (85).

Libra-
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With regard to our libraries, visitors' comments were confined to outstanding examples of them. The Chicago Public Library, though not quite satisfactory to Archer's eye, is not without good and beautiful details (86). To Vaya, the Public Library of Boston gave a calm and harmonious effect (87), and Sargent's work there provided the "most interesting" exhibition of American art that has yet appeared (88). Münsterberg speaks of its wonderful staircase of yellow marble (89), and Bennett says that the painting of Puvis de Chavannes on the walls of the stairway was "the loveliest modern thing" he saw in America (90).

Effi-
cien-
cy

Though having no direct reference to architecture, it is a witness to America's efficiency and speed that whereas in Paris you have to wait an hour for a book and in the British Museum half an hour, in Washington it can be in your hands in five minutes (91). On the other hand, however, Hogan deplored the fact the the Astor and Lenox libraries in New York, though fine and full of precious books and pictures, are inaccessible to the people for whom they were meant

{84} X 228. {85} X 233. {86} A 92. {87} X 225.
{88} X 226. {89} Q1 451. {90} C 59. {91} Q1 451.

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because they are open only while people are at work (92).

Boston The Boston Art Museum is spoken of as evidence of the rapid spread of artistic knowledge.

Museums With regard to the art of the Far East, America was first to recognize its superiority, and the collection in the Boston Art Museum is one of the finest in existence (93). Wells speaks of the fine art treasures at Mrs. Gardner's Palace (94), and with some amusement we recall Burne-Jones' observation that it has to be opened to an unappreciative mob once a month to fulfill the conditions under which the import duty on its treasures was reduced (95).

Theatres The interiors of our theatres are commended as spacious, elegant, well-lighted and ventilated (96). The arrangement of the seating which enables everyone to see and hear well is also a noteworthy feature (97).

Churches In its ecclesiastical buildings, although money which might elsewhere be put into church windows, is here given to libraries (98), the American contributes generously for their erection. Roman Catholic churches are among the finest buildings we possess (99), and the money often comes from those who have the least (100). The Americans as a whole have a habit of sparing nothing for the church of God (101), and this is a "striking testi-

(92) N 76. (93) X 224; Q1 491. (94) Z 93-4. (95) G 198-9.
 (96) R 166. (97) C 138. (98) Q1 453. (99) X 118.
 (100) X 327. (101) I 197.

mony" to the community's religion and reveals "the energy, style, and taste of the American people" (102).

The churches of Chicago are spoken of on the one hand as being as "gaudy as music-halls" (103), and on the other hand as "handsome buildings" (104). Beautiful rooms for children is an American feature (105). In New York the churches are stately and well-proportioned (106), but "of subordinate interest". Though Trinity, St. Patrick's, and "The Little Church Round the Corner" could be duplicated architecturally in Europe, the unfinished St. John the Divine seems to embody New York's own spirit (107). The American cathedral properly heated enables one to worship God in winter without shivering (108). In Boston, Trinity and New Old South are "ambitious and beautiful pieces of ecclesiastical architecture." (109) The cathedral in Copley Square is "a mixture of Corinthian, Gothic, and Byzantine (110), and is the most beautiful church in America (111). The Mother Church of Christian Science founded by the "greatest woman of America" (112) is "large, imposing and simple" (113).

Public
Build-
ings

With regard to government buildings, reserving the unique collection at Washington for separate consideration below, a few of our buildings elsewhere call for special note. The white marble

(102) I 291. (103) L 142. (104) I 73. (105) I 73.
(106) O 119. (107) D 86-92. (108) W 290. (109) A 79.
(110) V 52-3. (111) Q1 451. (112) W 317. (113) W 316.

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With regard to government buildings,
reserving the unique collection at Washington for
separate consideration below, a few of our buildings
elsewhere call for special note. The white marble

(102) I 291. (103) I 125. (104) I 75.
(105) O 119. (106) D 25-27. (107) W 290. (108) A 75.
(109) V 22-2. (110) G 143. (111) W 317. (112) W 316.

city hall of Philadelphia is regarded by its citizens as the best in the country (114), and in Sacramento the capitol building with its fine dome and massive proportions is a towering graceful edifice. The fact that Sacramento is the capital of California illustrates the American tendency to have as the capital of a state a place which is at its geographical center (115). The state capitol on Beacon Hill in Boston does not fail to make an impression, and with its gold dome shining in the sun Burne-Jones describes it as cheerful (116); the illumination of this dome at night Wells considers incongruous (117) -- as if, adds Bennett, in competition with the "Bijou Dream"! (118)

Parks

Boston is further complimented for its fine park system. This, however, is not finished-- "nothing in America is finished except some of the politicians" (119). Central Park of New York is noteworthy. Its attractiveness "is not inferior to the Bois de Boulogne of Paris (120), and it is an "exhibition ground for beauty and wealth" (121). Its statues are good but they cannot compare with those of Regents Park in London (122), although Hole remarks that they are not so depressing as England's (123).

(114) I 140. (115) N 44. (116) G 183. (117) Z 227.
 (118) C 61. (119) V 51. (120) I 165. (121) N 74.
 (122) W 17. (123) O 65.

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(114) I 140. (115) W 44. (116) G 183. (117) E 327.
 (118) C 61. (119) V 21. (120) I 153. (121) W 74.
 (122) W 17. (123) C 63.

Statues

No visitor arriving at New York harbor can miss the Statue of Liberty. It is "mighty and imposing" (124). This "tall lady" (125) is ugly and cumbrously incongruous with the scene around (126). Collier who was here in 1897 was impressed by the amount of criticism evoked by the undraped statue of Diana in Madison Square Garden. (127). In the same period it was the habit of some American ladies to cover the bareness of carved piano legs with ruffles! The statue of Washington in Philadelphia is excellent (128), and the statue of the Minute Man at Concord simple and impressive (129). Archer speaks of the St. Gaudens statue of Abraham Lincoln in Chicago as one of the great art works of the nineteenth century, and "one of the few entirely worthy monuments ever erected to a national hero (130). Most of our monuments and busts, however, are only politically interesting and are waiting for a charitable earthquake (131).

Rail-
roads

The impressions made by our railroads vary according to the time of the authors' visits. In 1889 railroad engineering was dashing and reckless, and not a model to be copied. They embodied magnificent conceptions that had come to grief (132). In 1904 the improvement during the previous decade was revolutionary; in exchange for the former ugly

(124) M 13. (125) Z 168. (126) O 25. (127) H 70.
 (128) I 139 (129) A 80. (130) A 95. (131) Q1 484.
 (132) N 43.

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(128) I 129. (129) A 80. (130) A 93. (131) O 124.
(132) E 43.

and filthy stations, America was then noted as having the most beautiful railroad stations in the world, thus reflecting the development of the nation passing through an aristocratic period (133). In 1908 railroad engineering had become one of the greatest of American developments (134), and in 1914, the "Grand Central Station could be the nave of a cathedral" (135).

Adver-
tising

One feature of American sight-seeing, receives repeated mention. Dean Hole sees a parallel to an English custom in the advertising material that obtrudes itself upon the gaze of railroad passengers (136). But that is only half the story. Every inch of America promises to be covered with billboards, says Mrs. Tweedie (137). Everywhere highways are made unbeautiful by them says Burne-Jones (138). The country seems dotted everywhere with advertisements, repeats Steevens (139). In such bad taste is this zest for selling that it does not stop at rendering hideous the glorious view as that of Niagara Falls (140). Only after legislation prohibiting it, could the beautiful scenery on the Hudson remain unspoiled (141).

In New York, Steevens stood aghast at a "whole city plastered and painted and papered with advertisements" (142) to which Archer retorted that

(133) Q1 490; Q2 231. (134) X 83. (135) D 85. (136) O 136.
(137). W 26. (138) G 49-50. (139) V 50. (140) W 352;
G 235. (141) Z 156-7. (142) V 13.

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(133) Q1 490; Q2 251. (134) X 83. (135) D 85. (136) O 136.
(137) W 28. (138) G 43-50. (139) V 30. (140) W 382;
G 233. (141) E 155-7. (142) V 15.

they were no more flagrant than those on the Thames (143). But Arnold Bennett, familiar as any with the lights of London, found that in New York he could not talk for looking (144). Archer added that its electrically illuminated architecture "make New York one of the most fascinating cities of the world" (145).

City
Planning

With regard to our progressive development in "city planning," it is here that there manifests itself the "religion of beauty" which is taking its place in American habits of thought (146). The artistic sense of an American community is higher than that of England (147). There has developed a general tendency to avoid the earlier mistake of not leaving space for a tree (148). Though there is great divergence among the larger cities of the land, the small towns especially of the west are much alike. American artists in their experimentation reveal their courage (149). Yet, taken as a whole, American cities have nothing to please a trained or natural sense of beauty (150).

Washington

But to that remark there is one outstanding exception, and that is the national capital, the finest of American cities (151). Here there is a stateliness that the visitor is surprised to find in this country. It is indeed the "best planted

(143) A 25. (144) C 21. (145) A 40. (146) K 292.
(147) T 133. (148) K 211. (149) P 192. (150) B 174.
(151) X 94; W 407; I 126.

city" he ever saw (152). It is "beautifully laid out" and most attractive (153). It is our only city that a European can admire for its beauty (154), having an appearance appropriate to its national authority (155).

The Capitol Of its three outstanding examples of architectural triumph we observe first that for which the capital was built, the Capitol. This is one of the "grandest" buildings of the world (156), one of the "most beautiful" (157), rightly worthy of its importance (158). Vaya dilates upon the grandeur of its proportions, the perfection in the curve of the cupola, the fineness of the extensive terrace steps, and the refined harmony of its setting (159), Craib upon its "grand ornamental portico set in stately pillars (160), and Archer upon the symbolism of its design (161). Inside the building its endless corridors are awesome, and though in detail there is much to be criticized, its gradual enrichment is envisaged (162). Bryce thought the Chamber of the House of Representatives in good proportion (163).

The White House Secondly, the two adjectives most commonly used in regard to the White House are simplicity and dignity (164). This makes it an "intimation of power" (165) and "a national glory" (166).

(152) V 93. (153) P 217; G 164. (154) R 39. (155) O 245.
 (156) R 40. (157) M 73. (158) K 290. (159) X 102-3.
 (160) I 127. (161) A 66. (162) C 50; A 61-2. (163) FI, 142.
 (164) $\begin{cases} Z & 246 \\ X & 119 \\ O & 2 \end{cases}$, (165) O 249. (166) X 360.

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(132) V 93. (133) P 217; G 164. (134) R 39. (135) O 245. (136) R 40. (137) M 73. (138) R 230. (139) R 132-3. (140) I 137. (141) A 66. (142) G 50; A 61-2. (143) R 142. (144) L 240. (145) O 249. (146) R 250.

As a place to live in, it leaves "much to be desired" in comfort (167), but there are always the beautiful grounds artistically laid out to caress the eye of the chief executive (168). Inside, the rooms though not regal, are quite imposing and the re-decoration after Roosevelt's day are in better taste than formerly (169). Altogether, no building could be more appropriate than the White House (170).

The Finally, the Washington Monument comes in Washington for its share of comment. This is a national Monument calamity (171). It is set in a situation that is too low (172); it is a stupendous unmeaning obelisk (173). It is explained that the Americans were "determined for once to be beyond suspicion in employing an adjective in the superlative degree followed by the traditional 'in the world'.....It is therefore the highest monument in the world -- without inverted commas." (174) The tallest "national calamity" apparently! Yet its smooth shaft springs "upward like the symbol of a great idea" (175), and it is a "worthy memorial" of the father of our country (176).

Hope In concluding this chapter, it may be said of American architecture what is said of American art. It is doing its best to shake itself

{167} Y 55. {168} I 129. {169} W 405. {170} A 62
 {171} C 54. {172} A 62. {173} Z 237. {174} R 40.
 {175} Y 55. {176} M 72.

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(167) Y 55. (168) Y 129. (169) W 405. (170) A 62.
(171) C 34. (172) A 62. (173) E 237. (174) R 40.
(175) Y 55. (176) W 72.

free of foreign influences and to get its own school (177). There have been great advances, and a sense of beauty is rapidly developing that is fresh, vigorous, and natural (178). Though at present American architecture often "shows no more self-restraint than a bunch of fire-crackers," its strength is its courage (179). "Architecture is here a living art" (180) and is facing its great tasks "with daring power and aptness" (181).

is constantly in evidence. From the national capital down, everywhere they own the streets (2). and they even dine with their parents at night (3).

Spoiled The lack of discipline which characterizes the life of the American (4) commences in his childhood. A child of six has no regard for anything or respecting his elders (5). In all things they turn back to their parents and contradict them and this custom prevails even in cultured homes (6). They lack shyness, are precocious, and average themselves for injuries (7). Before they have shed their baby-dollers they are sophisticated (8). They are allowed to read any newspaper and to fashion any kind of love (9). They may love but they also adore their parents (10). Not only do children reign supreme in the United States (11), but they also feel that they own the world (12).

(177) W 199. (178) Q1 494; Q2 231-2; X 299; T 124.
(179) P 191. (180) A 29. (181) X 84.

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CHAPTER IV
THE POTENTIAL PRESIDENT
(American Education)

"The United States has sometimes been called the 'Paradise of Women'; from the child's point of view it might equally be called the 'Paradise of Children' though the thoughtful observer might be inclined to qualify the title by the prefix 'Fool's'" (1). In no other country of the world is the child so constantly in evidence. From the national capital down, everywhere they own the streets (2), and they even dine with their parents at night (3).

Spoiled Children The lack of discipline which characterizes the life of the American (4) commences in his childhood. A child of six has no concern for obeying or respecting his elders (5). In all things they talk back to their parents and contradict them and this custom prevails even in cultured homes (6). They lack shyness, are precocious, and avenge themselves for injuries (7). Before they have shed their knickerbockers they are sophisticated (8). They are allowed to read any scandal in any newspaper (9). They may love but they also scorn their parents (10). Not only do children reign supreme in the United States (11), but they also feel that they own the world (12).

(1) P 63. (2) K 283. (3) H 211. (4) V 314. (5) G 34.
(6) T 129; H 212. (7) P 64, 67, 73. (8) H 217. (9) H 221.
(10) C 148. (11) K 267. (12) J 130.

CHAPTER IV
THE POTENTIAL REACTION
(American Reaction)

"The United States has sometimes been

called the 'Paradise of Women'; from the child's point of view it might equally be called the 'Paradise of Children', though the thoughtless observer might be inclined to qualify the title by the prefix 'Pearly' (1). In no other country of the world is the child so constantly in evidence. From the national capital down, everywhere they own the streets (2), and they even dine with their parents at night (3).

The lack of discipline which characterizes the life of the American (4) commences in his childhood. A child of six has no concern for speaking or respecting his elders (5). In his infancy they talk back to their parents and contradict them and this custom prevails even in cultured homes (6). They lack shyne, are precocious, and avenge themselves for injuries (7). Before they have shed their milkteeth they are sophisticated (8). They are allowed to read any scandal in any newspaper (9). They may love but they also scorn their parents (10). Not only do children pick anyone in the United States (11), but they also feel that they own the world (12).

- (1) P. 63. (2) K. 233. (3) H. 211. (4) V. 214. (5) G. 54.
(6) T. 139. (7) P. 64. (8) H. 211. (9) L. 221.
(10) C. 148. (11) H. 227. (12) J. 130.

Relation

with

Parents

As the failings of the child in this country are the fault of the parents (13) we may ask what it is in the parents that evokes the unanimity of the criticism of their children. If this is a "land of spoiled children" (14) it is because the parents are foolishly indulgent (15). They are too easy-going to see the need for discipline and too optimistic to exert themselves (16). Finding much to do, they lack the time for nursery training (17). The nursery itself is an example of how American equality has destroyed all constraint (18). The fathers are absorbed in their work so that it is the women who have made the children what they are (19). In the family the lack of respect goes unpunished (20).

In distinction from the foregoing, some visitors take a more generous view of the relations between parent and child. It is to the credit of the parents that they bring up their children to be self-reliant and independent (21). The elders are comrades to their children even in early years⁽²²⁾ and though they allow them much freedom they implant in them ideas of "dutiful affection, sobriety, and religion" (23). Archer was everywhere "struck with the beauty and intimacy of the relation between parents and children." (24).

(13) K 413. (14) H 244. (15) V 314; T 129. (16) T 93.
 (17) X 141. (18) Q1 556. (19) P 69. (20) Q1 28.
 (21) W 105. (22) J 127. (23) I 314. (24) A 51.

the following of the child's life

counting on the 1st of the month (13) to

was that it is in the month that every one

celebrates the birthday of their children. It

this is a time when the child is in the

period of his life when he is learning to

live and to grow up. It is a time when he

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Despite the adverse criticism of the younger children, their later improvement is rapid. Most little minxes blossom out into charming women or fine boys (25). If the most disagreeable travelling companion is the American boy, the American man is the most agreeable (26). It will be our task in this chapter to review the contribution made by educational institutions to their growth.

Interest in Education A few comments will show the impression we give of our enthusiasm for education. America is "intensely interested in education" (27); it "is the last country in the world to play" with it, and parents without it are earnest in desiring it for their children (28). It is part of the conception of the ideal state and is stressed rather than politics. Education is the one word in which American spirit expresses itself (29). It is an outstanding "endeavor of the national life," and regarded as "indispensable" (30). "In America everybody from the richest to the poorest, considers that education is a boon, a necessity of life, and the more education they get, the better it is for the whole country" (31). "The American government would never have advanced so unerringly from success to success if every village stable-lad and city messenger-boy had

(25) P 70. (26) P 66. (27) C 156. (28) J 134.
(29) K 182, 198, 316. (30) T 206, 222. (31) U 387.

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(25) F 182. (24) F 180. (23) F 178. (22) F 176.

not known with pride that it depends only on himself if he is not to become President of the United States" (32).

Motives

A part of this enthusiasm for education is prompted by utilitarian motives. The "career fallacy" begins early in life; the American learns in order to succeed; he never succeeds in order to learn (33). In other words our education is "not quite disinterested enough," and does not give wings to the soul (34). The fact that education is looked upon as an investment which must bear interest has, however, helped to improve its standard, and it lays "a solid foundation for helpful and meritorious after-careers" (35). It develops frankness, openness, gracefulness of movement, and honest pride (36); and sends out young people into the national life with "clean hands and hearts" and "well-instructed minds", to make that life remarkably assimilative (37).

Criticism

In the United States generally, with a curriculum too extensive, pupils' heads are filled with undigested knowledge and they remain untrained in the ability to grind at one subject until mastered (38). This inferior training in hard systematic work reduces their chances for scholarly work later (39). Teaching is "too formal and mechanical," aiming at cramming and memorization instead of developing

(32) Q1 25. (33) T 223. (34) T 213; 225. (35) X 140; 432. (36) K 334. (37) T 134; 226. (38) V 28. (39) Q2 125.

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(32) Q1 23. (33) T 233. (34) T 213; 235. (35) A 140; 232.
(36) R 334. (37) T 134; 236. (38) V 28. (39) 23 125.

analysis and reasoning (40). Textbooks contain an excess of pictures and attractiveness (41). Much time is wasted through long vacations and absence from school on Saturday (42). Though the intelligence is sharpened, keen intellectual interest is seldom awakened. Such education produces high mediocrity but retards the inspiration of genius (43).

Co-edu-
cation

In view of the general absence of co-education in Europe, it strikes the visitor as a novelty. The idea of it is that the sexes should become accustomed to being together (44). On the one hand, it is said that boys and girls are too close for the good of either, the boys resenting the girls' superiority in studies, and the divinity that hedges sex being weakened (45). On the other hand since it decreases sexual tension during adolescence, it is a purifying force (46). In college, the freedom between the sexes constitutes the highest form of self discipline, and gives excellent results (47). Women learn comradeship with men (48). At the same time, the constant association in the routine of study tends to suppress the more tender emotions; co-education is not "coo-education" (49).

Teach-
ing
of
History

Before proceeding to a specific consideration of the school system, we may here note a general criticism with regard to the teaching of one subject,

(40) S 193. (41) Q1 377. (42) Q1 379. (43) W 163.
(44) Q1 561. (45) T 211-12. (46) Q1 562. (47) K 197.
(48) J 143. (49) O 191.

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(48) J 143. (49) O 191.

viz. history. Since America has no folklore for its childhood to feed upon, its place is taken by actual history.(50). Its subject matter takes the form of the careers of individuals which the child feels he might have been (51). Small men become great and the protagonists of American history are appealed to as exemplary (52). As an instance of this somewhat perverted view of history is the story of a child who, when asked in Sunday school the name of the first man, replied, "George Washington" (53).

Cf. In accordance with this provincialism, while
 England in Britain the teaching of its history has been too forgetful of its past, in America it is too mindful. If an American schoolboy could realize his birthright in the glories of Britain, he would develop " a more magnanimous view of her errors and disasters" (54). Compared with the English child whose training in history covers twenty principalities over twenty centuries, the American child learns one country over but three; therefore demigods and smaller heroisms are glorified and much of our teaching of history is childish (55).

English Upon the anti-English character of our
 History teaching of history, there is further comment. While in England correct geographical ideas about the United States are neglected, the primary grades in

(50) T 24. (51) J 131. (52) T 37. (53) T 25.
 (54) A 158. (55) T 14-5.

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America give either no ideas about England, or what is worse give wrong ones (56). Three visitors testify that our teaching of history is definitely antagonistic to England (57). Archer remarks that it would greatly conduce to a just understanding between America and England if the prevalent impression that the American people have "a monopoly of democracy" were corrected (58).

Demo- We have already referred to the lack of
cracy respect in the attitude of children towards their
in elders at home. Since the parents believe the schools
School should be run in the same spirit as their home, the
lack of respect in school likewise goes unpunished (59).
In the schools, the child first experiences a practical demonstration of democracy. This "social paradise" aspect makes the common schools of America an "unrivalled" system of education (60). The "sense of equality in intellectual fellowship captivates the American child world" (61). It is in the public schools that immigrant blood is assimilated and digested (62).

Women Another point of distinctiveness of our
Teach- elementary schools (and not stopping there) is the
ers excessive preponderance of women teachers. "There was never before a nation that gave the education of the young into the hands of the lowest bidder" (63). So

(56) P 75-6. (57) A 154-5; V 134; W 164. (58) A 167.

(59) Q1 28. (60) I 319 cf. 75. (61) J 127. (62) Y 165, cf. Z 143.

(63) Q2 166; T 212.

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as at home, in the grammar schools the children are in the hands of women; the children respond to women better than to men (64).

Criti-
cism

In contrast with the English ideal, which, by arduous training, aims to enable the child to climb the mountain, the American educational ideal is to bend "the mountain down in order that youth may easily and gracefully leap up to the summit" (65). Yet our public schools are probably better and certainly more practical than the private schools to which the middle class send their children wholesale in England (66). One writer criticizes us for grinding our pupils out as by a machine (67) and another compliments us for the "free play" that is "given to each child's individual talent" (68). The latter writer is "astonished at the average intelligence of the children"; they respond quickly to questions and work faster than the children of Europe (69). They attain more self-confidence, to which the habit children have of making money for themselves contributes (70). The schools make an effort to have the children govern themselves as much as possible (71).

Admin-
istra-
tion

With regard to the administration of schools, the fact that a brawny young factory hand sits on a school committee illustrates the American

(64) Y 159. (65) J 131. (66) W 229. (67) T 210.
(68) X 124. (69) X 235-6. (70) X 142. (71) Y 169.

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With regard to the administration of
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(64) X 194. (65) X 194. (66) X 142. (67) X 194.
(68) X 194. (69) X 194. (70) X 194. (71) X 194.

tendency to overestimate his own powers (72). If there is corruption, as in New York where teachers are mostly "maiden aunts" of Tammany, signs of purification are equally evident (73). Dean Hole regards the administration of secular education as admirable, but he deplores the absence of any religious instruction (74).

High School The lack of "grind" and the practical emphasis in education is true also of High Schools. "On the whole, the American scholar of high school age has neither wide interests, nor the discipline in learning of the English scholar, and still less of the German" (75). He shows, however, special mechanical aptitude (76). The studies that predominate are scientific and economic (77). The whole emphasis of instruction is not academic but is upon that which "will be useful in a commercial career" (78). Ostrogorski deplores the formality in the study of civics which leaves the students unacquainted with "the rudiments of political knowledge" (79).

Curriculum Among our authors, Professor Münsterberg, as an educator himself, has much to say of the inferiority of American education. In Germany, specialization is postponed until students there are on the level of college graduation here - so High

(72) Q1 26. (73) V 28. (74) O 98. (75) T 211.

(76) X 240. (77) T 8. (78) L 78-9. (79) S 192.

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(72) 21 26. (73) 26. (74) 26. (75) 26. (76) 26. (77) 26. (78) 26. (79) 26.

Schools at least ought to be faithful to the goal of general education (80). Electives chosen according to a momentary interest are not necessarily for the permanent good of the student (81), and the tendency it develops to follow the path of least resistance is unwholesome (82). Also, as against the teachers of the old country whose pedagogical effectiveness is based upon an intimate acquaintance with and enthusiasm for his subject, here where the attitude towards teaching is pedagogic (83) and where the "science of education" is ahead (84), teachers talk about "aims" (85). A German boy at fifteen has attained an educational level attained by an American boy at eighteen, and this difference is due to the bad preparation of American teachers (86). In our High Schools, says Smart, "the problems of education are as confusing as anywhere." (87).

Univer-
sities

American universities, as private institutions, receive considerable attention as objects of charity. In a single cheque Carnegie gave more money for university education than all English millionaires gave to universities for a "quarter of a century" (88). The fact is noted that in one year (1903) over \$40,000,000 was given to educational institutions (89). Buildings are sometimes overwhelming and receive an unbalanced concern (90).

(80) Q2 62. (81) Q2 65; cf. 54. (82) Q2 69. (83) T 224.

(84) A 58. (85) Q2 54. (86) Q2 79. (87) T 210.

(88) U 387-8. (89) Q1 233-4; cf. X 116. (90) X122; Z 211.

(88) U 337-2 (89) 61 233-1; 61.1 116 (90) 112; 2 111.
 (84) A 38. (85) 61 34. (86) 32 78. (87) 1 210.
 (80) 62 32. (81) 62 33-57. 64. (82) 62 39. (83) 1 234.

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Univer-
 sities

Demo-
cratic

It is the glory of the American university that it is open to all classes of people (91). A college education is not looked upon as a luxury but as a right for all (92), and the "sons of millionaires sit by the side of ragged scholars" (93). A man who works his way by cleaning shoes may be elected to a prominent position of honor (94), and another can remain respectable though becoming a bell-boy for vacation time (95). Even foreign students can work for their education here, sometimes in professors' homes doing the same kind of work as the white help (96). This familiarity with menial tasks has a broadening influence (97). There is often an earnestness of application lacking in the skat-playing, beer-drinking German student (98).

Motives

Again we must sound the practical note. Academic studies are made subsidiary to practical studies and the universities are turning out their sons to take part in commerce (99). The American youth has an eye to results more than the English (100); many go to college to "better themselves" (101), and students take the multi-millionaire Morgan as their model (102). "All science becomes part of the world-economics, of world-produce, and all culture becomes the art of leading and mastering men" (103).

(91) F II, 673. (92) T 215. (93) X 431. (94) D 293.
(95) Q1 241. (96) K 126. (97) T 18. (98) Q1 428.
(99) L 83. (100) T 18. (101) T 165-6. (102) L 79.
(103) J 139.

General Though few students do so much at studies
 Culture as the English and though their societies lack the
 dignity of the latter, they yet give a good account
 of themselves (104). If the standard of special
 scholarship is lowered, a high level of general
 culture is maintained; with little Greek and Latin
 goes a many-sided interest in European literature
 (105). The American college education is in closer
 contact with outer life than the English (106) and
 it turns out good citizens (107) and good "export"
 material (108).

Athlet- In athletics the American schools are far
 ics more organized than the European, and they "command
 a somewhat disproportionate amount of attention" (109).
 Football evokes "tense excitement" (110) and the high
 fever of inter-university games is regarded by Bennett
 as an "authentic phenomenon" (111). The university
 yells are "monstrously absurd and surpassingly ugly"
 (112) and the game, encouraging all the brutal instincts
 of youth, does not provide the fun of the English
 games of rugger and soccer (113).

Harvard With regard to particular universities, the
 spirit and work of Harvard comes in for special praise;
 due partly to the fact that the visitors visited it
 in preference to other schools. Its name inspires
 respect (114) although it has been desecrated "by the

(104) F II, 679-80; 684-6; T 193. (105) A 45-6. (106) T 18.
 (107) D 289. (108) K 58. (109) D 286; G 190. (110) D 285.
 (111) C 129. (112) C 134. (113) W 192. (114) X 228.

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(104) T 11, 675-680; 684-687; T 103, (105) A 42-43, (106) T 103,
(107) B 283, (108) E 38, (109) B 283; G 100, (110) B 283,
(111) C 122, (112) C 134, (113) W 122, (114) X 122.

heresy most repulsive to the Christian faith, by that subtle form of Antichrist... Unitarianism" (115). With no taverns around, morals and manners are at a high level; here, too, many poor students work their way (116). Though its buildings do not begin to compare with college buildings in England (117), it has a mellow look; instead of the "Old World charm" that one would expect, everything is found to be "the latest, the very dearest, the very best of everything that is luxurious" (118). This "true home of New World ideals" (119) impressed Wells as very living factor (120).

Women
Stu-
dents

At the colleges in general, the visitors are again impressed by the presence of women. Even farmers' daughters, whose fathers want to be proud of them, are here (121)! And they are all pervaded by a sense of youthful hopefulness (122). Though the effect on the sexes is salutary (123), in view of the fact that women have a passive, uncritical attitude towards knowledge, if the American universities are going to follow the higher ideal of research and approach the achievements of the European universities, the equality between the sexes must more and more disappear in them (124).

Pro-
fessors

With regard to professors as a class, they have not the "distinction that marks the European

(115) O 270. (116) G 192. (117) H 154. (118) C 157-8.
(119) Q 1 349. (120) Z 215. (121) L 99. (122) D 296-7.
(123) Y 176. (124) Q2 163.

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 European universities, the equality between the
 sexes must now and more disappear in them (124).

125- With regard to professors as a class, they
 have not the "distinction" that marks the museum

(125) 125. (126) 126. (127) 127. (128) 128. (129) 129. (130) 130. (131) 131. (132) 132. (133) 133. (134) 134. (135) 135. (136) 136. (137) 137. (138) 138. (139) 139. (140) 140. (141) 141. (142) 142. (143) 143. (144) 144. (145) 145. (146) 146. (147) 147. (148) 148. (149) 149. (150) 150. (151) 151. (152) 152. (153) 153. (154) 154. (155) 155. (156) 156. (157) 157. (158) 158. (159) 159. (160) 160. (161) 161. (162) 162. (163) 163. (164) 164. (165) 165. (166) 166. (167) 167. (168) 168. (169) 169. (170) 170. (171) 171. (172) 172. (173) 173. (174) 174. (175) 175. (176) 176. (177) 177. (178) 178. (179) 179. (180) 180. (181) 181. (182) 182. (183) 183. (184) 184. (185) 185. (186) 186. (187) 187. (188) 188. (189) 189. (190) 190. (191) 191. (192) 192. (193) 193. (194) 194. (195) 195. (196) 196. (197) 197. (198) 198. (199) 199. (200) 200. (201) 201. (202) 202. (203) 203. (204) 204. (205) 205. (206) 206. (207) 207. (208) 208. (209) 209. (210) 210. (211) 211. (212) 212. (213) 213. (214) 214. 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faculties" (125). Though often admirable men, and often filling an important place in American life, they are also often harried by day labor that prevents them reaching out into "new regions of thought" (126). They are not appointed necessarily on account of their knowledge, nor does their advancement necessarily depend upon their productive scholarship. For this reason, and also because there are no public titles here to reward merit, they become more interested in money-making than in advancing science (127).

Trend

In conclusion we say a word about observed tendencies. Bryce remarked that universities and colleges here are changing (128). They are changing for the better. They seem to be conscious of the role they have to play in the future of the country (129). Europe will soon be surprised at the intellectual work that will be developed here, and in science especially will America reveal its greatness (130).

(125) T 218-9. (126) T 219; K 330. (127) Q1 425-6, Q2 81-118.
 (128) F II 691. (129) Z 218. (130) Q1 448, 393.

"recruited" (125). Though often administrative men, and
 often filling an important place in American life,
 they are also often hampered by low wages that prevent
 them reaching out into "new regions of thought" (126).
 They are not regarded necessarily on account of
 their knowledge, nor does their advancement neces-
 sarily depend upon their productive scholarship.
 For this reason, and also because there are no public
 titles here to reward merit, they become more
 interested in money-making than in advancing science
 (127).

128

In conclusion we may say a word about observed
 tendencies. Byers remarks that universities and
 colleges here are changing (128). They are changing
 for the better. They seem to be conscious of the
 role they have to play in the future of the country
 (129). Europe will soon be surprised at the
 intellectual work that will be developed here, and
 in science especially will America reveal its
 greatness (130).

CHAPTER V

FORDISM

(American Industry)

Indus- Dean Hole remarked that one of the reasons
 trial why people who could should make a visit to America
 Develop- was to observe such industrial progress as has never
 ment been paralleled (1). From being an agricultural
 country, the United States has developed into a
 commercial power of the first rank (2). With vast
 natural resources, in this respect like China, the
 American character, unlike the Chinese, has resulted
 in their colossal development (3) until today, "the
 strength of the United States lies in her industry
 and her commerce" (4); or, more strongly expressed,
 the "industrial system has indeed become a tyranny"
 (5).

Univer- This is a country in which almost every-
 sal one is engaged in work (6). Even the rich earn
 Industry respect and admiration by often working harder than
 the others (7). What in England is called a
 "gentleman" would here be called a "loafer" and this
 sentiment finds legal expression in some states where
 work is compulsory (8). It is this absorption in
 work that accounts for an immense European
 prejudice against American life where the American
 is dubbed a materialist (9). The Europeans looks

(1) O 1. (2) X 401. (3) Q1 229. (4) X 442. (5) T 154.
 (6) O 10. (7) Y 147. (8) R 237-8. (9) T 5; cf. L 95.

ARTICLE V

CHAPTER

Section 1

Section 1. The purpose of this chapter is to provide for the orderly and efficient management of the affairs of the corporation. It shall be the policy of the corporation to conduct its business in a manner that is consistent with the best interests of the corporation and its shareholders.

Section 2. The board of directors shall have the authority to manage the business and affairs of the corporation, subject to the control of the shareholders.

Section 3. The board of directors shall have the authority to make all decisions necessary to carry out its duties, including the power to borrow money, to sell, lease, or convey real or personal property, and to enter into any contract that may be deemed advisable.

Section 4. The board of directors shall have the authority to appoint and remove officers and directors, and to fix their salaries and compensation.

Section 5. The board of directors shall have the authority to declare dividends and to make any other distribution of assets to the shareholders.

Section 6. The board of directors shall have the authority to make any other action that may be deemed necessary or advisable for the corporation.

Section 7. The board of directors shall have the authority to make any other action that may be deemed necessary or advisable for the corporation.

Section 8. The board of directors shall have the authority to make any other action that may be deemed necessary or advisable for the corporation.

Section 9. The board of directors shall have the authority to make any other action that may be deemed necessary or advisable for the corporation.

Section 10. The board of directors shall have the authority to make any other action that may be deemed necessary or advisable for the corporation.

upon economic activities as honest, but not as noble (10), and to understand American life we must realize that here a genuine respect for work as such exists (11). This leads toward an extraordinary intensity in work (12), and while one writer sees in our "indefatigable work" that "which has made the United States a leading power of the present day" (13), another, horrified at finding so many people working at night, sees in it the subordination of the state to business (14); and again, while one writer regards the seriousness of American industrialism as its "first outstanding aspect,"⁽¹⁵⁾ another finds that business to the American becomes "an alluring sport" (16).

Organi-
zation

In addition to honoring work, America knows how to organize it (17). The high point which organization has reached is worthy of credit (18). Industry, without insular prejudices, "drains the world for ideas." This adaptability to which is added a whole-hearted enthusiasm, is at the bottom of American prosperity (19). Other characteristics are simplicity, standardization, labor-saving methods, and all that goes under the name of efficiency. It owes its great facility somewhat to the absence of the formalities and ceremonies of the Old World (20). Though telegraphing is done in

(10) Q1 237. (11) X 156. (12) Y 144; L 4, 11, 258.

(13) X 26. (14) Z 109. (15) T 135. (16) J 248.

(17) Y 148. (18) K 423. (19) L 75. (20) X 149.

upon economic activities as honest, but not as noble (10), and to understand American life as what we call a genuine respect for work as an existence (11). This leads toward an extraordinary intensity in work (12), and while one writer sees in our "industrial work" that "which has made the United States a leading power of the present day" (13), another, horrified at finding so many people working at night, sees in it the subordination of the state to business (14); and again, while one writer regards the expansion of American industry as the "first outstanding aspect," another finds that business is the American business "an all-wise spirit" (15).

In addition to honoring work, American business has to organize it (16). The high point which organization has reached in the world of trade (17), industry, without further progress, "contains the seed for decay." This adaptability to which is added a whole-hearted enthusiasm, is at the bottom of American prosperity (18). Other characteristics are simplicity, standardization, information-seeking, and all that goes under the name of efficiency. It owes its great healthy growth to the absence of the formalities and ceremonious of the Old World (19). Though its organizing is done in

a slovenly manner at absurdly high prices, America leads the world in the use of the telephone and in the lack of art in business correspondence (21). For what an English business man would require a week in which to answer, the American will say "Yes" or "No" in three minutes (22).

Labor-
Saving

Although "life in America is so full of progress, energy and moving power" that it is difficult for people to get the same impressions (23) the enthusiasm for labor-saving devices is a constant characteristic (24). O'Rell would not have been surprised to find a sewing machine run by hooking the operator's chin to a wheel in order to utilize a woman's talking power (25).

High
Speed

Such high tension in productivity as is characteristic, calls for rapid and zestful workmanship. "America has raised up high-priests of scientific shop-management" (26), and it is in the resourcefulness of these narrow specialists that the strength of American industry lies (27). "American success has been obtained by skilled workmanship and businesslike methods." (28). Scientific machinery tests the speed at which operators can function (29). There is no room for a laggard, and the young are in constant favor. When inquiring for old workers, Fraser was informed that he would find them if he

(21) L 173. (22) L 91. (23) I 10. (24) Y 152; L 161, 210.
(25) R 47. (26) T 136. (27) Q1 245. (28) U 368-9.
(29) T 137.

a slowly growing but steadily high price, America leads the world in the use of the telephone and in the lack of art in business correspondence (21). For what an English business man would regard a week in which to answer, the American will say "Yes" or "No" in three minutes (22).

Although "life in America is so full of progress, energy and moving power" that it is difficult for people to get the same impression (23) the enthusiasm for labor-saving devices is a constant characteristic (24). O'Reilly would not have been surprised to find a sewing machine run by rocking the operator's chin to a wheel in order to utilize a woman's talking power (25).

Such high tension in productivity as is characterized, calls for rapid and mental workers. "America has raised up high-pressure of scientific shop-management" (26), and it is in the reorganization of these narrow specialties that the strength of American industry lies (27). "American success has been obtained by allied workmanship and businesslike methods." (28). Scientific management tests the speed at which operators can function (29). There is no room for a faggot, and the young are in constant fever, when imagining for old workers, "There was no room for them when they were old."

(21) p. 125. (22) p. 125. (23) p. 125. (24) p. 125. (25) p. 125. (26) p. 125. (27) p. 125. (28) p. 125. (29) p. 125.

took a car ride to the cemetery (30). Carnegie's habit was to make retired millionaires of those men whose brains began to fag (31). Such is the efficiency attained that in a business filling sixty thousand mail orders a day, a mistake was a miracle (32). The United States has attained the maximum of human effort and can defy all human competition (33). Yet to all that there is an outstanding exception in the case of the United States postal system, the inefficiency of which is a great surprise - it is as slow as that of Russia (34).

Waste

Yet in spite of economies in time and labor (35), American industry does not operate without great waste in material. Waste is enormous in American business (36) and the amount of waste permitted in an American mill would astound an Englishman (37). The American habit of leaving food unfinished on plates is a symbol of the wastefulness involved in doing things on a grand scale; it is a part of American self-confidence (38). Yet a tendency to learn the possibility of making profit out of waste material is also in evidence (39).

(30) L 45, 49. (31) L 57. (32) C 85. (33) K 444.
 (34) L 171-2. (35) X 150. ~~(36) X 150. (37) X 150. (38) X 150.~~
 (36) H 89. (37) L 254. (38) K 89-90. (39) T 139.

took a taxi ride to the cemetery (30). Berning's
 handle was to make better utilization of those men
 whose brains began to lag (31). Such is the
 efficiency attained that in a business killing
 sixty thousands will require a day, a minute and a
 miracle (32). The United States has retained the
 maximum of human effort and can defy all human
 competition (33). Yet to all that waste is an
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 (39).

(30) L 35. 43. (31) L 37. 0 66. (32) L 44.
 (33) L 171-2. (34) L 150. LXXXIX
 (35) H 37. (36) L 234. (37) L 33. (38) L 133.

Busi-
ness
Man

The American business man is the keenest in the world (40). He is superior to the British "in adaptiveness, in resource, in ingenuity, and in whole-souled keenness" (41). In the United States, business "is more emphatically business" than anywhere else in the world (42). Unlike England where management is handed down from father to son who probably has cultural and sporting interests also, in America managers are of the first generation and every ounce of their activity is concentrated on building up their business (43). Businesses established by the genius of an individual retain their intensity notwithstanding their large expansion (44).

Success

Such intensity of pre-occupation develops and demands not only superior business qualities, but "supreme confidence" (45). No master of business can retain his job for long unless he is "active, smart, and interested in his work" (46). Unlike the European, who is anxious to get away from his business, the American is anxious to get to it (47). His acceptability depends upon the way he does his job and not at all upon whether he can make a charming dinner companion (48). He must be a live wire, charged with something like the water power

(40) V 32. (41) L 5. (42) V 264. (43) L 259-260.
(44) X 153-4. (45) L 28. (46) I 238. (47) C 93.
(48) L 261.

The American business man is the least	The American business man is the least	The American business man is the least
in the world (40). He is superior to the British	in the world (40). He is superior to the British	in the world (40). He is superior to the British
"in add. vivacity, in resource, in ingenuity, and	"in add. vivacity, in resource, in ingenuity, and	"in add. vivacity, in resource, in ingenuity, and
in whole-souled keenness" (41). In the United States	in whole-souled keenness" (41). In the United States	in whole-souled keenness" (41). In the United States
business "is more emphatically business" than any-	business "is more emphatically business" than any-	business "is more emphatically business" than any-
where else in the world (42). Unlike England where	where else in the world (42). Unlike England where	where else in the world (42). Unlike England where
management is handed down from father to son who	management is handed down from father to son who	management is handed down from father to son who
probably has cultural and sporting interests also,	probably has cultural and sporting interests also,	probably has cultural and sporting interests also,
in America managers are of the first generation and	in America managers are of the first generation and	in America managers are of the first generation and
every ounce of their activity is concentrated on	every ounce of their activity is concentrated on	every ounce of their activity is concentrated on
building up their business (43). Businesses	building up their business (43). Businesses	building up their business (43). Businesses
are not limited by the genius of an individual retain	are not limited by the genius of an individual retain	are not limited by the genius of an individual retain
their large capacity notwithstanding their large	their large capacity notwithstanding their large	their large capacity notwithstanding their large
expansion (44).	expansion (44).	expansion (44).
Such intensity of pre-occupation develops	Such intensity of pre-occupation develops	Such intensity of pre-occupation develops
and demands not only superior business qualities,	and demands not only superior business qualities,	and demands not only superior business qualities,
but "supreme confidence" (45). No matter of busi-	but "supreme confidence" (45). No matter of busi-	but "supreme confidence" (45). No matter of busi-
ness can retain his job for long unless he is "native	ness can retain his job for long unless he is "native	ness can retain his job for long unless he is "native
smart, and interested in his work" (46). Unlike	smart, and interested in his work" (46). Unlike	smart, and interested in his work" (46). Unlike
the European, who is anxious to get away from his	the European, who is anxious to get away from his	the European, who is anxious to get away from his
business, the American is anxious to get to it (47).	business, the American is anxious to get to it (47).	business, the American is anxious to get to it (47).
His responsibility depends upon the way he does his	His responsibility depends upon the way he does his	His responsibility depends upon the way he does his
job and not at all upon whether he can make a	job and not at all upon whether he can make a	job and not at all upon whether he can make a
charming dinner companion (48). He must be a fine	charming dinner companion (48). He must be a fine	charming dinner companion (48). He must be a fine
wire, charged with something like the water power	wire, charged with something like the water power	wire, charged with something like the water power
(49) Y 127 (41) 1 204. (42) 1 205-206.	(49) Y 127 (41) 1 204. (42) 1 205-206.	(49) Y 127 (41) 1 204. (42) 1 205-206.
(44) X 103-4. (45) 1 208. (46) 1 209. (47) 1 210.	(44) X 103-4. (45) 1 208. (46) 1 209. (47) 1 210.	(44) X 103-4. (45) 1 208. (46) 1 209. (47) 1 210.
(48) 1 201.	(48) 1 201.	(48) 1 201.

of Niagara (49). The counsel of an Englishwoman, that a man's shoes wear longer if he changes into slippers occasionally, goes unheeded (50). Yet sometimes he cannot sleep for worry (51). At all events he must make money. This is the test of his worthiness, and if he fails in this, "his failure is absolute" (52).

Build- ings

The business buildings which are the commercial monuments of the United States, resemble feudal towers and are "positively ugly" (53); but they are huge and gorgeously organized, and to step off a New York street into one of them is "to step up fifty years in the scale of civilization" (54). Offices are temples (55). Let the men with their green cigars and without coats and vests form a striking contrast with their staid black-coated brothers of Europe (56), and they are "never too busy to enjoy a chat" (57).

Ethics

The ethics of the American business man may be summed up in the phrase, he is out "to get" (58). His proverb is "All's fair in love or business" (59). This does not mean that he palpably steals or lies, but simply that his morality is commercial (60). Men of high standing and character tell of sharp business practices with no sense of being unethical (61). With a vision more prophetic

(49) K 433. (50) W 472-3. (51) L 222 (52) V 271. (53) Y 23.
(54) Z 125. (55) C 94. (56) L 14. (57) D 74. (58) Z 121.
(59) P 102. (60) Z 122. (61) P 102.

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(49) K 433. (50) W 472-3. (51) A 322. (52) V 271. (53) V 281. (54) E 183. (55) C 94. (56) L 14. (57) B 74. (58) E 181. (59) E 182. (60) E 182. (61) P 103.

for success than for ideals (62) many fortunes have been made on the ruins of others (63). In litigation, the lawyer is more important than the judge, and our greater lawyers are engineers of the "delicately intricate inter-adjustment of all successful fortune-building" (64). In worshipping the Golden Calf we often fail to live according to "Christian sentiments" (65). It is to Theodore Roosevelt's credit that he demonstrated the necessity for righteous business ethics to keep the country free and prosperous, and new American institutions like Chicago University aid in promoting them (66).

Adap- The visitor to whom we have referred to
tiveness most in this chapter and whose task was to deal with
industry says that America is saturated with one
characteristic, namely, adaptiveness (67). In
contrast with England which is the home of crafts-
men, American manufacturing is based on machinery
(68). Industrial progress thus becomes the progress
of machinery (69). In its fondness for change, it
goes to an extreme which is the opposite of English
conservatism (70). While British machinery is made
to last and only set aside with reluctance, Ameri-
can machinery is flimsy enough to wear out fast and
to require replacement with up to date models (71).
The former is used until it becomes useless and then

(62) T 149. (63) R 66-7; Q1 251. (64) J 11. (65) I 64.
(66) J 224. (67) L 264. (68) L 193. (69) L 195.
(70) L 253. (71) U 389; T 138.

for success than for failure (62). Many, however, have been made on the ruins of others (63). In litigation

the lawyer is more important than the judge, and our greatest lawyers are engineers of the "delicatest" intricate inter-adjustment of all human and political "fine-tuning" (64). In worshipping the Golden Calf

we often fail to live according to "Christian beatitudes" (65). It is to Theodore Roosevelt's credit that he demonstrated the necessity for righteous business ethics to keep the country free and prosperous, and new American institutions like Chicago University aid in promoting them (66).

The vision to whom we have referred to lives most in this chapter and whose task was to deal with industry says that America is saturated with one characteristic, namely, adaptiveness (67). In contrast with England which is the home of craftsmanship, American manufacturing is based on machinery (68). Industrial progress thus becomes the progress of machinery (69). In its tendency for change, it goes to an extreme which is the opposite of English conservatism (70). While British machinery is made to last and only set aside with reluctance, American machinery is flimsy enough to wear out fast and to require replacement with up to date models (71). The former is used until it becomes useless and then

(62) I 125. (63) A 66-7. (64) I 11. (65) I 12. (66) I 124. (67) I 124. (68) I 123. (69) I 123. (70) I 123. (71) U 382; T 123.

is sold as second hand; the latter is thrown away as soon as any better is available (72). Inventions are encouraged and large sums are spent in experiment on any idea that seems sound (73). The American worker is listened to when he makes suggestions for improving machinery; the English worker is too often told to mind his own business (74).

Unskilled Hand in hand with machine perfection goes
Workers the fact that America abounds in unskilled or semi-skilled labor (75). And how polyglot this is! It is part British, part German, part Irish, part Swede, part Italian, part French-Canadian, part Pole, part Slav (76). While Wells wonders whether America can assimilate the great horde of immigrants (77) and Mrs. Tweedie speaks of the "sweated foreign labor" as a peril to the country (78), Fraser sees in the very fact that they have had the courage to come an evidence that they are good material (79).

Condi- There are several witnesses to the unhappy
tions conditions under which these workers toil. Collier remarks that under no monarchy is "the drudgery of commonplace labor" degraded as in this democratic land (80), and Mrs. Tweedie speaks of them as doing twice as much as British workers, and, like the machinery they tend, soon wear out (81). Smart also has much to say. Though the European works more

(72) L 9, 253; Q1 245. (73) Q1 248. (74) U 392. (75) T 140.
(76) L 189, 217. (77) Z 142. (78) W 214. (79) L 258.
(80) H 65. (81) W 245, 24.

is sold as second hand; the latter is thrown away
as soon as any better is available (72). Inventions
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by any idea that seems sound (73). The American
worker is listened to when he makes suggestions for
improving machinery; the English worker is too often
told to mind his own business (74).

Unskilled
Workers the fact that America abounds in unskilled or semi-
skilled labor (75). And how different this is from
the part British, part German, part Irish, part
Swedish, part Italian, part French-Canadian, part
Polish, part Slav (76). While Wells wonders whether
America can assimilate the great mass of immigrants
(77) and Mrs. Treadle speaks of the "wretched foreign
labor" as a peril to the country (78). Street scenes
in the very fact that they have had the courage to
come so evidence that they are good material (79).

Condi-
tions There are several witnesses to the unskilled
conditions under which these workers toil. Collier
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commonplace labor" degraded as in the democratic
land (80). and Mrs. Treadle speaks of them as doing
twice as much as British workers, and like the
machinery they find, soon wear out (81). Smart also
has much to say. Through the European work more

(76) L. 2, 255; 41 243. (73) 41 248. (74) 41 250. (75)
(76) L. 122, 247. (77) 2 143. (78) W. 214. (79) L. 252.
(80) L. 62. (81) W. 248, 24.

slowly and has poorer tools, the American's nerves are at a higher tension (82), and thus in spite of having machinery to take the weight from muscles and bones, he is under "a new and unseen tyranny" which oppresses him "nervously and mentally" (83). He is thus a "joyless creature" (84) without artistry and dignity in his work. In mid-life he is "tired and quiescent" (85). Men are "mere items in manufacture" (86). Products are manufactured, but not men (87).

Count Vay de Vaya speaks of the cheapness with which life is looked upon with ten new hands always ready to replace an old one (88). At the mercy of tyrannous trusts, immigrants are turned wholesale into slaves (89). In this realm of Mammon and Moloch a sanguinary destruction of mankind is in process (90). Under such conditions it is no wonder that workers lose their soul (91).

Trades

Finally, Fraser deals with various types of work people here and there. Elevator men either die of heart disease or cease working through shattered nerves (92). In Pittsburg, men are pale and anxious (93), and in sweat shop tailoring, the employees are worse paid than in London (94). Compared with the British worker, he is as a race-horse to a carthorse. Lacking patience and doggedness and working under excitement, he is "soon played out" (95). For old servants there is no

(82) T 137.(83) T 139.(84) T 145.(85) T 146.(86) T 155.
 (87) T 157,159.(88) X 375.(89) X 378. (90)X 379-80.
 (91)X 387.(92) L 16.(93) L 53. (94) L 144.(95) L 190.

slowly and has better food, the American's nerves
 are at a higher tension (82), and even in spite of
 having machinery to take the weight from shoulders and
 bones, he is under "a new and milder tyranny" which
 oppresses him "nervously and mentally" (83). He re-
 turns a "joyless creature" (84) without spirit and
 dignity in his work. In his life he is "climber and
 phlegmatic" (85). Then the "new life" in America (86)
 (86). Products are made for men, not men (87).
 doesn't say the Vays speak of the changes
 with which life is loaded upon with ten new hands.
 always ready to replace an old one (88). At the
 mercy of tyrants first, immigrants are turned
 whole into slaves (89). In this realm of reason
 and logic a completely different of reason is
 in process (90). Under such conditions it is no
 wonder that workers lose their soul (91).
 Finally, Emerson deals with various types
 of work people here and there. His first man right
 is of heart disease, or cease working through
 scattered matter (92). In his story, men are pale
 and anxious (93), and in every step, falling, the
 employees are worse paid than in London (94).
 compared with the British worker, he is as a wage-
 slave to a capitalist. Lacking experience and courage
 and working under excitement, he is "soon
 closed with 1855. Not old experience there is no

Traces

(82) T 107. (83) T 107. (84) T 107. (85) T 107. (86) T 107.
 (87) T 107. (88) T 107. (89) T 107. (90) T 107. (91) T 107.
 (92) T 107. (93) T 107. (94) T 107.

consideration (96). In the shoe business the American worker is not an artisan like the British, but simply a worker (97). The doubling in twelve years of the American coal output has exacted its toll in making young workers look old and worn (98), and although the mill workers get high wages they have also to work long and hard, and having to spend more, have nothing left for a rainy day (99).

Rising

Notwithstanding all this testimony to the degradation of the American workman, it is somewhat compensated for by exceptional chances which are open to exceptional men. Working people do not constitute a social group (100) and can enjoy social self-respect (101). There are no prejudices to bar a man from passing from a worker to an employer (102). Each worker feels that his destiny is in his own hands (103) and he has a better chance here than elsewhere to get ahead (104). He has thus "more strength of character" than the working class in England (105).

Democ-
racy

Combined with this, is a less dependent attitude towards the employer (106). He calls him "boss," not master (107). In trade union organization he is behind the English (108). So far as the employer is concerned, he is often indifferent as to whether a man belongs to a trade union or not (109)

(96) L 197. (97) L 203. (98) L 221. (99) L 244.

(100) T 111. (101) Q1 321. (102) X 398; T 141).

(103) L 258. (104) I 52-3. (105) I 277. (106) L 210.

(107) L 196. (108) L 218. (109) L 194.

... (95). In the case of the ...
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... (129). The ...
... (130). The ...

although sometimes he buys off agitators (110).

Smart sees no hope for unions unless the workers develop a sacrificial loyalty towards them (111).

Restless-
ness

Great restlessness is apparent in American industrial life. That outbreaks are commoner here than in England may be due to the fact that Americans are "less law-abiding" (112), or to the large foreign population (113). A great struggle of the poor against the rich is forecast (114) and socialism is beginning to assert itself (115). Though the labor question is far from being solved (116) it is hopeful of solution (117). The absence of insurance against illness, accident, or old age is a striking contrast to the German system (118).

Women
and
Chil-
dren

With regard to women and children in industry, it is in accordance with what we have said about this being a woman's land, that Bryce remarks that Americans would be horrified to see women working in fields or mines as in Europe (119). But in the offices and banks, they push men to the wall (120). In the shops their femininity gives selling appeal, for they are the "brightest, keenest, cute-est girls" (121). In the factories, though less refined than her English sisters, American girls have a demeanor that bespeaks equality (122).

(110) L 218. (111) T 147. (112) T 144. (113) N 69.
(114) H 204 cf. L 196-7. (115) W 471. (116) Q1 343.
(117) Q1 318. (118) Q1 319. (119) FII, 740. (120) T 142.
(121) L 165; 20. (122) T 158.

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 less refined than her English sisters, American
 girls have a homeliness that bespeaks equality (122).

Restless-

need

Women

and

Child-

given

In the excessive occupation of women, Professor Münsterberg sees a menace to the American race (123). In its employment of children of eight, ten, and twelve, in mines and mills, American industry is in need of immediate improvement (124).

Quality

In the quality of its manufactured goods, England leads the world; but for quantity, the palm goes to America (125). The demand here is for cheap goods that wear out fast and are replaced often (126). Handicraftsmen being a luxury too dear, it is better to get a new pair of shoes than to get the old ones repaired (127), and we have taught England that shoes can be made to fit easily on the foot when new (128). Since here even the middle class wear ready-made clothes, the tailoring craft has been abolished (129). The Americans would rather look smart than have clothing well made (130) and, since clothes don't last long enough to get shabby, we appear better dressed (131). Because people are willing to wear cloth made with shoddy a hundred mills make shoddy only, and it is difficult to develop a genuine woolen business (132). In cotton manufacturing as well as wool, English mills are superior, partly because of the absence of hereditary training (133).

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(123) Q1 583. (124) L 217, (125) L 92. (126) W 245.
 (127) L 93-4; cf. 3. (128) L 201. (129) L 94. (130) L 236.
 (131) L 233-4. (132) L 242. (133) L 247.

The Farmer In the wide open spaces where things are grown for the consumption of the workers, American farmers do an efficient work. There is naturally an absence of that charm of landscape which comes from permanence in rural life (134), and there is also lacking those other two characteristics of European agriculture, a peasantry bound to the soil and a territorial aristocracy (135). But the American farmer is a keener and more enterprising man than the European and has more commercial character (136). Personally, he is a grand fellow. He is not old-fashioned. He brags about "God's own country," and has "native shrewdness and wit" (137). If he has not home comforts, he has at least a piano-playing wife who knows how to sit in a hammock (138).

Organi- The farmer's prodigious appetite for in-
zation formation (139) is ministered to by the wonderful work which the Department of Agriculture does for agricultural education (140). Many agricultural schools all over the country show how America is at work to produce the largest quantity and the best quality (141). These schools share the general American characteristics of elasticity, and adaptiveness (142). We thus meet better methods than are in operation in Europe (143). Nowhere has the "material and moral triumph of modern organization" been

(134) B 173. (135) Z 72. (136) F II, 294; V 156. (137) L 98.
(138) Q1 567. (139) L 104. (140) L 100. (141) L 123.
(142) L 119-20. (143) K 91.

more eloquently proved than in some examples of American agriculture (144).

Trusts

Yet there is a tendency to ruin American agriculture and drive farmers to the British soil of Canada, namely, the trend towards concentration (145) which manifests itself in the great grain trusts (146). This indeed is a general phenomenon, and refers not only to agriculture. Trusts have grown naturally out of the organic conditions of American life (147). "Capital has gone therefore to the utmost extremes" to cut out competition (148) and the large financial returns that investors look for, can only be secured by centralized bodies who simply own stock and in whom power is concentrated (149).

Competition

Although this phenomenon ought to please the American taste for doing things on a large scale, it turns out that the opposite is the case for it comes in conflict with another American characteristic, namely, the spirit of open competition. The Americans themselves therefore are found to be excited and angered over the trusts (150). The American dislike for kings "goes for" money kings also (151). There is a regular tussle between state powers and trust powers, and in cases where the latter are not strong enough to prevent the

(144) K 97, 145-6, 406-7. (145) Z 82. (146) L 108.
~~(147) XXXIXXXX(148)X~~ (147) Q1 302. (148) T 148.
 (149) Q1 303. (150) Q1 249, 306, 311; ~~(151)~~ F II 575;
 T 148. (151) R 67.

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Although this phenomenon ought to leave the American taste for doing things on a large scale, it turns out that the opposite is the case for it comes in conflict with another American characteristic, namely, the spirit of open competition. The Americans themselves therefore are found to be excited and angered over the trusts (150).

The American dislike for kings "goes for" money kings also (151). There is a regular tussle between state powers and trust powers, and in cases where the latter are not strong enough to prevent the

(144) R 57, 145-5, 146-7, (145) 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Trusts

Competition

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Future

We conclude this chapter on industry which we have entitled "Fordism" - a word someone used to characterize it - by recalling Smart's good counsel to capital. If it would "abstain only a little more from unfair increments, .. allow sufficient margin to labor" and "teach thrift by examples brought down to the common man's understanding," many of the present difficulties would disappear (154). To this we may add a forecast of Bryce's which today seems prophetic: America will reach a "time of shadows"; of widespread poor wages and of poverty in many cities (155), but it will be able to meet the situation with strength (156).

(152) T 148; V 306-7. (153) Q1 316-7. (154) T 153.
(155) F II, 851. (156) F II, 852.

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CHAPTER VI

THE POWERS THAT BE

(American Government)

Unexpect- It is in the review of American government
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 Bad what they expect in "the land of the free and the home
 of the brave," and the conditions that actually exist.
 Having sprung from a moral ideal (1), it is not
 without a sense of disappointment and of a lack of
 realization of the idealists' hopes that Bryce's
 incomparable survey of the republic is concluded (2).
 Though it is difficult to assign the disappointing
 conditions to a single ground, it is to the point to
 mention here the remark of Ostrogroski that "of all
 races in an advanced stage of civilization, the
 American is the least accessible to long views" (3).

Undemoc- However exalted may be the democratic
 ratic ideal and its universal acceptance (4) compared with
 the practical democracy of England, American democ-
 racy is only theoretical (5). "The habits of the
 nation are still aristocratic" (6), and it is not
 without amusement that one may note, as a symbol of
 this, the existence of pedigree cults (7). Although
 Americans live in a "land of freedom" they are not
 freemen (8).

(1) Q1 4. (2) F II, 869. (3) S 400; cf. F II, 174.
 (4) Y 161. (5) W 464. (6) F II, 254. (7) Q 2 227-8;
 cf. Q1 11, 594. (8) H 23.

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(1) Cf. 4. (2) Cf. 11. 239. (3) Cf. 11. 174.
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Parties It is characteristic of America that good society does not take part in politics (9), yet "Americans are born politicians" (10) and the remarkable gift for organization which manifests itself in the quick and orderly fashion with which the public will line up in front of a ticket office finds significant expression in the two historical political parties (11).

Machines The spirit and force of the party is as essential to the machinery of government as steam is to a locomotive (12). Yet in view of the absence of classes and of religious inequalities, politics are not so interesting (13) and they are left to noisy "mediocrities" (14); and, with so many elected officers, the ordinary citizens cannot watch them and everything comes under the control of the party machines (15). "The boss relieves the people "of the tedious duty of governing themselves" (16). The result is an administration that offers enormous scope for corruption and which is "invincibly intrenched behind the two party system from any insurgence of the popular will" (17).

Party So far as the two parties differ, not even names the keen eye of Bryce could detect any difference between them on important issues (18), nor could Hole catch the divergent ideas which divided the

(9) R 214-5. (10) Q1 54. (11) Q1 33-4. (12) F II, 3.
 (13) F II, 71. (14) R 215. (15) F II, 106. (16) S 278.
 (17) Z 244. (18) F II, 21.

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(17) R 214-3. (18) R 214-3.

Republicans from the Democrats (19). The parties are survivals of an earlier day, and now differ merely in tradition and war cries (20). They do however serve as a bond for men "with no other bond between them" (21), and they are organized on a "simply human, primitive " basis (22). Their real difference seems to be only that one is in and the other is trying to get in (23).

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tions conventions - at their "good humor and undefinable air of intelligence" that they share with every American

(19) O 246. (20) S 102; FII, 21. (21) S 411. (22) J 220.
(23) R 214. (24) S 436-7. (25) T 56. (26) Q1 53.
(27) S 408. (28) V 109. (29) P 103.

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crowd, at their excellence in attitude, their orderliness and excitability, and their peculiar style of eloquence which was the same in 1884 as it was in 1835, and the same in 1908 as it was in 1884 (30). But during an election campaign, a disinterested onlooker can see how ridiculous the spectacle is with its dissipation of energy (31), its large indolent body of voters controlled by professional politicians (32), and its party supporters who are out only for jobs (33). What America needs is the sustained activity of vigorously independent minds and the disposition of ordinary well-meaning citizens to "prefer the realities of good administration to outworn party cries" (34). There is hope in the signs of "political scepticism" which are also somewhat in evidence (35).

Elections

Whatever may be the reflections of a disinterested onlooker, the voter in an American election has a sense of government that is unique. He feels his "government is his own" and that he has individual responsibility for its conduct (36). Nowhere is a voter so much canvassed; and he goes to the poll as though performing a holy rite (37), and most voters do this "in a truly ethical spirit" (38). In a vein somewhat contradictory to such comments, are others that state that Americans take little

(30) F II, 193; S 144, 149. (31) S 199; X 115, 439.

(32) F II, 63. (33) Q1 40, 61. (34) F II, 334. (35) K 347S 418

(36) F II, 269. (37) S 221; T 40-1. (38) Q1, 51.

interest in politics (39) and that "the British working man is far more alive to the government of his country and himself than the American (40). The contradiction is less acute if those comments are emphasized that make the apathy towards voting exist among the "good" citizens and "the luxurious classes" (41). To such people, confronted with the mass of voters who follow the party bosses like sheep (42), with thousands of new ignorant citizens herded to the polls (43), with the two party system offering but a choice between two evils (44), and with ballots listing a number of names according to party (45), there may seem little point in voting.

Candi-
dates

Among candidates that seek and obtain political position, there is a lack of great men (46), and a presence of inferior ones (47). There is no family that has national significance (48) and no hereditary names have made a great reputation in political life (49). It is not a means to social distinction as it is in Europe (50), nor are there honors that appeal to distinction (51). In fact, men of high calibre are repulsed by the low type of the majority (52), and a leisured class with time for politics is small (53). Men go into politics here for the money that there is in it (54). The parties

(39) H 107. (40) W 409. (41) S 220; F II 167, 583.

(42) Z 131; FII, 106. (43) FII, 99, 100. (44) Q2 182 (45) V60.

(46) Q2 197. (47) F II, 591. (48) Q1 599. (49) F II, 57.

(50) F II, 73. (51) Q2 196. (52) Q1 58. (53) F II, 57.

(54) Q2 196.

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(39) H 107, (40) W 409, (41) S 280; H 157, 283.
(42) S 121; H 106, (43) H 106, (44) S 182, (45) W 480.
(46) H 197, (47) H 197, (48) S 292, (49) H 11, 27.
(50) H 11, 27, (51) S 182, (52) H 11, 27, (53) S 182.
(54) S 182.

themselves prefer safe men to eminent ones and choose a man who will serve his party primarily (55), preferring men of "faint individuality" because they have no enemies (56). There is only one moral disqualification for office. "There is no country" in the world where "conjugal infidelity evokes a more fervid indignation especially in the case of public men" (57). "In America to be moral refers to sex," and in politics an honest man can be "bad" and a thief be the "right" man for office (58). To the candidates themselves, it is not the pay that is the greatest inducement to take political office, but the chance that they will have of getting illicit profits (59).

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(55) F I, 79-81. (56) T 58. (57) O 98. (58) H 219-20; cf. F II, 217. (59) F II, 59. (60) Z 153. (61) F I, 575. (62) F II, 542. (63) T 53.

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(62) W. I. 542. (63) T. 52.

city "delirious" (64). But at the capitol he finds the authorities polite, and they permit him to take a seat in the galleries (65). Taken as a whole, he finds Congress to be less talkative, more sober and businesslike than any other parliament in the world (66); or he finds it "the feeblest, least accessible, and most inefficient central government of any civilized nation in the worst west of Russia" (67). To a European eye, it does not fulfill wisely its task of spending public money (68) and through lack of ministerial leaders, it is unfit to handle practical problems promptly (69). Its members are intellectually inferior to those of Westminster (70).

Represent-
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In the House of Representatives, only one sixth of its members are not professional politicians (71). Although they are not great men - an "ambitious congressman" indeed has but a short career - they are at least keen and eager (72). It is a peculiarity of the system of representation that a man cannot be a candidate for any district in which he does not reside. In England a less able man will resign his seat in Parliament so that a more able man who has been defeated elsewhere can secure a seat by becoming a candidate at the by-election caused by the resignation. But here if the more able man loses in his own district, he is "lost to his country" (73),

(64) R 40. (65) W 424. (66) Q1 100. (67) Z 244-5.
(68) F I 151 (69) F I 296. (70) O 2. (71) F I, 148.
(72) F I 148, 153. (73) V 90; F II, 70-1.

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and many men are representatives simply because they are the cock of their own small walk (74). Other facts contributing to the inferiority of the personnel are the opportunity for clever men to make fortunes in business (75); the lack of opportunity for distinction within the House (76) and the fact that Congress is not a necessary step to the presidency (77) nor even to society (78).

Disorder

There is so much hubbub among the members that the visitor in the gallery receives an impression of noise and disorder overcast by a speaker's powerful voice. He cannot hear what is being said and the members themselves, writing letters or reading papers, do not bother to listen. It appears as if only the ubiquitous desks are being addressed. All this is so very different from the calm and dignity of the English House of Commons. Smoking while legislating is in itself a shock to an Englishman (79).

Limitations

The legislative competence of Congress is incomparably more prescribed than that of the English Parliament (80), and what scanty legislation is granted to it is mediocre (81). Its inefficiency is largely due to the fact that nearly half the members are almost inexperienced (82). Since there are no individual leaders as in Europe (83), there

(74) B 117; F1 193. (75) Ø 3. (76) Q1 56,100; F1 79,200.

(77) F1 201. (78) S 128. (79) W 424; F1 143-4.

(80) F1 136-7. (81) F1 146. (82) F1 196-7. (83) F2 29.

and many men are representatives simply because they are the cock of their own small walk (74). Other facts contributing to the inferiority of the parliament are the opportunity for clever men to make fortunes in business (75); the lack of opportunity for distinction within the House (76) and the fact that Congress is not a necessary step to the presidency (77) nor even to society (78).

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The legislative competence of Congress is incomparably more prescribed than that of the English Parliament (80), and what security legislation is granted to it is mediocre (81). Its ineffectiveness is largely due to the fact that nearly half the members are almost inexperienced (82). Since there are no individual leaders as in Europe (83), there

(74) B 115; W 103. (75) Q 3. (76) W 103; B 100; W 100. (77) W 101. (78) S 183. (79) W 104; B 103-4. (80) W 105-7. (81) W 106. (82) W 106-7. (83) W 107.

are none against whom the House can bring charges of inefficiency (84). Strangest of all, it contains no public spirit. Elected but for a short tenure, and desiring to be re-elected, the objects and methods of the Representatives are those of tradesmen; each is trying to make "deals" to get as much as he can out of the national treasury to use in his own constituency, and the central legislative assembly of the country is turned into a great "'change with numerous 'corners'" (85).

Debates

In view of this state of affairs it is not surprising that the country does not receive "the light and leading on public affairs which Congressional debates ought to supply" (86), nor are the debates "in the public eye" as those in the Reichstag (87), and the circulation they receive is due to their free distribution (88). Indeed, small cogs in a huge party machine which turn mechanically in response to a main lever control have little reason for making eloquent speeches (89). And above them is a Speaker whose political power is so remarkable that he can have more to do with legislation than the President himself (90).

It is also a remarkable feature of the procedure of the House of Representatives that a bill cannot be debated upon until it has been through the

547

(84) F I, 151. (85) F I, 195-6; S 368, 372-3.
 (86) F I, 162. (87) Q1 57. (88) S 194. (89) S 184;
 F I, 144-5. (90) F I, 140; Q1 94.

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It is also a remarkable feature of the procedure of the House of Representatives that a bill cannot be debated upon until it has been through the

hands of a committee, and this shifts the center of gravity from the floor of the House. Whatever the advantages of this system, since one member can sit upon but a very limited number of committees, their general personnel is very mediocre. This system also reduces the responsibility of the House, destroys its unity, promotes lobbying, and facilitates corruption (91).

Majority

Rule

A good word is spoken for the way in which a minority accepts the will of the majority. It is not on armed force that the system of government in America rests but simply upon "the will of the numerical majority (92). The way in which the House minority submits to the majority is a good instance of American good humor and self-control (93). It shows that an American recognizes his neighbor's rights as well as his own, and this altruism is a superior trait, in the American character (94).

The

Senate

Passing from the uncomfortably large chamber of the House of Representatives (95), we enter the modern, severe, practical, cold-looking chamber of the Senate (96). It is here that the best political talent of the nation is gathered (97). Of all American institutions, it is the happiest devised and the "most successful in its working" (98). Compared with the upper houses of Europe, it

(91) F I, 159-162. (92) F II, 726. (93) F I, 135 cf. F II, 343.
 (94) Q1 28. (95) Q1 85. (96) F I, 118. (97) F I, 114.
 (98) B 143.

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Finance

In getting and spending its money, the national government reflects the people's general temper. Wells said that the "tall lady" seen by the visitor when coming up the Hudson is a symbol of property (104). Although of course whatever the government may take to meet its expenses is not diminished by its method of taxation, only that method of collecting is popular which has no suggestion of invading ownership. Though a tax on income finds popular favor elsewhere, here the government lacks the power to impose it (105). The American "government touches the people less directly than in other

(99) F I, 100, 119. (100) F I, 112 (101) Z 244.

(102) S 367. (103) F I 103:7. (104) Z 78, 168. (105) Z 78.

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countries, since taxation is largely indirect (106). In spending, the government reflects the spending habits of the country (107). National extravagance is tremendous (108), and the system of congressional finance wastes three hundred million dollars a year (109).

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Presi- House where democracy's king is enthroned. But we
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 denies the principle of democracy, for under the
 system adopted, twelve people in Nevada can equal
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(106) T 164. (107) F I, 181. (108) H 72-3. (109) K 515;
F I, 182. (110) F I, 44. (111) Q2 175. (112) Q1 64;
F I, 74; F II, 219. (113) I 321. (114) F I, 71; R 221.

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(105) T 154. (107) T 1, 181. (108) H 73-3. (109) K 513;
T 1, 182. (110) T 1, 44. (111) S 173. (112) S 84;
T 1, 74; T 11, 219. (113) T 321. (114) T 1, 71; H 231.

issues, issues have to be created (115). The president spends his first year at the White House in filling offices; during his second and third years he is finding his feet; in his fourth year he is trying to stay there (116) and dare not make political enemies (117). If when just beginning to be of use to his country he is not re-elected, his strength is gone and until his successor arrives, the nation is "like a coach without a driver" (118). Again, if re-elected, the fact that his re-election can occur but once, leaves him without much motive in serving the nation (119). The president appointed for seven years would be more useful and "give better results" (120).

Execu-
tion

Wells remarked that in Washington, power is so dispersed that there is "a government that cannot govern" (121). Perhaps he had in mind the fact that the bodies concerned with law making and law enforcing are not correctly related (122). Perhaps he was thinking of the special power in the hands of the chief executive. The president is almost an absolute monarch (123). He has more authority than any European sovereign (124) and it is astonishing to a thoughtful observer that a republican democracy should put into the hands of one man the power to remove thousands of government

(115) F I, 71. (116) W 401. (117) F I, 70. (118) W 420;
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(122) F I, 293. (123) R 220. (124) Y 358.

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(125) 3 I. 233. (126) R 230. (127) Y 238.
 2 I. 231. (128) W 402. (129) 2 244.
 (130) 3 I. 231. (131) W 401. (132) 2 244.

officials (125). One day it was not any bad news from the front that worried Lincoln, but the postmastership in Brownsville, Ohio (126). In wars, as head of the civil state and chief of the army he is virtually a dictator (127). At all times, the "strength of the President" is the "weakness of Congress" (128), and friction between them involves a loss of force (129). By the exercise of his veto however, because of general distrust in the motives that govern Congress, it is usually the president who gains in popularity (130); his strength resides in the fact that his power comes "straight from the people" (131).

Simplic-
ity

Visitors are uniformly impressed by the absence of pomp at the president's home. Such simplicity is more impressive than "majestic exhibitions of authority" would be (132). The general attitude towards him is not one of whispered reverence, but of simple and hearty deference; this is because the spirit of democracy has sunk deeply into the hearts of the people (133). A European who sees the brother of a president talking to everyone on the train and being slapped on the back by a conductor, gets an illuminating glimpse of the people of the United States (134). And the President

(125) Q1 65. (126) F I, 65. (127) F I, 66. (128) F II, 846.

(129) F I, 294. (130) F I, 59. (131) F I, 67.

(132) Y 55. (133) F I, 77. (134) V 126-7.

himself is not approached by "slavish obsequiousness" (135). He lives the life of a simply hard-working man whom it is easy to see and shake hands with (136).

Presi- Since the fear of the people is the
dential beginning of the American politician's wisdom, they
Candi- have not promoted objectionable men to the presidency,
dates and the presidents have all been honorable (137).
But often men are chosen who are so mediocre that
their exaltation to the office is a wonder (138).
The voter never demands wide culture or natural
greatness in the president, but is satisfied with
vigor, common sense, and magnetism (139). The Ameri-
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them to get excited over a candidate for president,
however small his genuine merit (140).

Roosevelt At Washington, for the inauguration of
President Theodore Roosevelt, Count Vay de Vaya
felt that here was an American in the strictest sense
of the word. With his sincerity and spontaneity he
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national force and aspiration" (141). Wagner found
him cordial, full of tenderness and filial respect
"in the matter of family sentiment", sympathetic
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(135) F I 76. (136) R 208-9. (137) S 159-60.
(138) S 33; F I, 78. (139) F I, 80. (140) F II, 226.
(141) X 104, 363. (142) Y 56-7, 60-1, 68.

(135) P 1 78. (136) H 208-2. (137) S 159-60.
 (138) S 33; P 1. 78. (139) P 1. 80. (140) P 11. 236.
 (141) X 104, 263. (142) Y 56-7, 100-1, 68.

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Consti-
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The whispered reverence absent in reference to the person of the president appears only in references to that alone which inspires the American with awe, the American Constitution -- " the best known type of a written constitution in existence" (144). It is often looked upon by Americans as a "sacred revelation" and is accepted by American political superstition as the acme of "political sagacity and foresight" (145). This reverence has become a potent conservative influence (146). Among a "less patriotic and self-reliant" people, a less law-abiding and law-loving people, it might have proved unworkable (147). It has stood partly because the American people have a practical aptitude for politics, a clearness of vision and capacity for self-control never equalled in any other nation" (148); and partly because by interpretation, amendment and usage, it has submitted to a process of constant change with new conditions (149).

Law Ob-
servance

The question may here be asked, Does the American essentially love law? The answers are diverse. Steevens says that every American is at heart an anarchist, hating all regulation and all

U 18

(143) Q1 72-3; F I, 52. (144) ~~Ex 32, 55~~ (145) T 39, 55.
(146) FI, 311. (147) F I, 358. (148) F I, 297.
(149) F I, 399.

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Sir Philip Burne-Jones remarked that the people do not submit to the authority of the police as they do in England (151), but on the other hand Birmingham remarks that there are more laws in America than in England so that here a man is less free although he thinks himself more democratic (152). Bennett is surprised, for example, to find that a law against horse-racing was passed which would have been out of the question in Europe (153). Finally, Bryce remarked that the Americans "are conspicuously the one free people of the world which, owing to its superior intelligence, has recognized the permanent value of order, and observes it on every occasion" (154).

Supreme
Court

Whatever credit is to be reflected upon the framers of the American constitution, no part of it "reflects more credit on its authors" and "has worked better in practice" than the Supreme Court (155). It has been "the most consistently able court in the world" (156). "No force in the country has done more for the peace, prosperity, and dignity of the United States" (157). Whatever may have been the "political trappings" of its nine judges before they became members, in this office they put honor and professional

(150) V 204. (151) G 61-2. (152) D 196-7. (153) C 123.
(154) F II, 573. (155) F I, 256. (156) T 227. (157) Q1 101.

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feeling above party (158); and maintain their dignity by refusing "to interfere in purely political questions" (159). The court feels the touch of public opinion and does not always follow its former decisions (160). Its chief disadvantage is that it does not give its opinion upon the constitutionality of any law in advance, but has to wait for a case to come before it before a disputed point can be decided (161).

Lower Courts In the lower courts throughout the land, although unlike Europe there is no parade, nor uniforms, nor wigs (162), and counsel apply to the cuspidor as often as to the code, the European custom of insistence on the unanimity of the jury is maintained (163). In the administration of the law the European thinks that our courts are seats of corruption and that it is necessary to have "pull" to get justice (164). Wells mentions the cases of MacQueen and Gorky as illustrations of the remarkable way in which men who are innocent and whom everyone knows to be innocent, can be jailed and bludgeoned by the courts (165). Whereas in Germany no man feels that any criminal shall evade the law, it is here generally felt that the guilty may often escape (166). There is also such a meticulous regard for technicalities that many trials go to pieces on small technical

(158) F I, 265; Q1, 113. (159) F I, 262. (160) F I, 273.
 (161) F I, 263-4. (162) R 190-1. (163) P 9. (164) Q2 183.
 (165) Z 173-5, 184. (166) Q1 551.

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errors, and "justice seems to be the last thing thought of" (167). Finally, the administration of law is not free from party politics. With public prosecutors under the auspices of a party machine they become its humble servants, and everywhere "the spring of government is weakened" (168).

Govern-
ment
Offi-
cials

We return to the national capital for a moment to take some note of national officials and their ways. The first the visitors meet are the customs house officers at their port of arrival. These show in the exercise of their duty, the "true American brusqueness" and their ways are exasperating (169). The general attitude of an American towards an official position is a corollary of his democratic faith - as a good American he can hold any job (170). The result is that thousands of persons without training do not pause to examine themselves sufficiently before assuming their responsibilities (171). At Washington, ready accessibility of governmental officials is striking (172). Over all the portals of the government departments one might inscribe "If you have business to talk about, come in". Even letters of introduction are superfluous (173) Coming and going to the capital, the journeyings of officials are free, in striking contrast to the customs of France, where even the president would

(167) Q1 104; T 55. (168) S 376. (169) X 16; G 13.

(170) Q 2 194. (171) Q1 24-5. (172) G 168. (173) L 64-7.

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Dis-
unity

The unique phenomenon of a country which is trying to be both individual states and a united state does not escape Hole (175). The peculiarity is that the United States cannot act as it pleases in all the states (176). It can thus happen that a man be divorced and be re-married in one state and in another state be sued for bigamy (177). Steevens thought that so great was the disparity between states that the United States would not be able to endure as a union (178).

State
Govern-
ment

With regard to the state legislatures, the criticisms of the personnel which were made in relation to the national legislature apply in full force, so we save the reader a repetition of the unpleasant.

City
Govern-
ment

At the way in which we govern our cities, visitors stand appalled. City government is "one conspicuous failure of the United States " (179) and "exhibits the most complete failure" of the elective system (180). City politics are so very bad (181) that in every city there are loud complaints against them (182). They are all lower than the worst in Europe (183). Commercialism exists in its "most sordid aspect" (184) and the corruption is great (185). New York in particular probably has the most

(174) H 66. (175) O 1,2. (176) K 11 (177) Q1 122.
(178) V 301-3. (179) F I, 637. (180) S 375. (181) T 127.
(182) F I, 649. (183) F II, 165. (184) S 398. (185) Z 128.

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and "exhibits the most complete failure" of the elective

system (180). City politics are so very bad (181)

that in every city there are loud complaints against

them (182). They are all lower than the worst in

Europe (183). Commercialism exists in its "most

horrid aspect" (184) and the corruption is great (185)

New York in particular probably has the most

(174) H 86. (175) O 1.2. (176) K 11. (177) J 123.

(178) V 201-2. (179) F 1. 637. (180) S 375. (181) T 187.

(182) F 1. 649. (183) F 11. 155. (184) S 398. (185) S 128.

inefficient city government in the world (186).

Moreover, it surprises the foreigner to discover that American cities are governed by Irishmen (187).

Reform

In view of conditions before which European visitors must stand aghast, it becomes a little overbearing to insist that this is the greatest country on earth (188). Americans would be more attractive if more backward in proclaiming themselves "the greatest nation upon earth" (189). We value ourselves too complacently on our methods of government (190), and live under the delusion that to refuse to look at something notorious is to destroy it (191). The general good nature of the American keeps him from getting cross, and makes him careless before crookedness (192). When he recognizes evil about him he is "confident that everything will come around all right" (193). When spoken to about the plundering by politicians, he will say "We can stand it; you cannot ruin this country" (194). "It will right itself" although "every day more untrue", is a favorite saying (195). With his "imperturbable optimism" he looks at "all evils as transitory" (196).

Improve-
ment

How much these expressions of optimism are simply verbiage remains to be seen. It is significant in conclusion to note that witnesses to improvement are found among those who have been

(186) W 30. (187) R 216; D 301-2; T 95; X 66. (188) Z 22-3.
(189) B 23. (190) F II, 577. (191) C 162-3. (192) Q1 555.
(193) Q1 142. (194) S 278. (195) S 419. (196) S 277; 400;
F I, 173; F II 283.

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(186) W 30. (187) R 215; D 301-2; 1 35; A 55. (188) 2 2-3.
(189) B 23. (190) W 11. 577. (191) C 123-3. (192) 21 255.
(193) 21 142. (194) S 278. (195) S 412. (196) S 277; 400;
T. I. 173; W 11 282.

most adverse in their criticism. There is an element of hope in "the intense faith which Americans have in the soundness of their institutions, and in the future of their country" (197). For a decade, a feeling of honor towards the state^{was}/steadily growing (198). The "civic conscience" is awaking to its tremendous task (199) and every day "American politics are becoming cleaner" (200).

It is, however, much more to American patriotism than that. It is not possible to live in America without having constantly brought before you the glories of our past history. For this, too, there is actual reverence (2) and frequent public parades are constant reminders of early history (4). This looking to the past instead of to the future may be an embarrassment (2). Amidst much reverence for Mount Vernon and much talk of 1777 there may be no thought of 1977 (6).

This does not mean simply that his satisfaction with himself in the past is viewed with the attitude to which a scientist may study an extinct species. He does not say "Where are the glories of the past?" but feels that he himself is an emblem of them. To an American "Our Country" means an expansive dynamic thing (7). That his attitude is not objective means that his patriotism is sufficiently conscious "to resent criticism" (8). The parallel

(197) F II, 283, 350. (198) Q 1 605. (199) S 419.
(200) W 4.

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CHAPTER VII

THE SPREADING EAGLE

(American Foreign Policy)

The Patriotism in America is splendid, says
 Glorious Mrs. Tweedie, adding that this is due to centering all
 Past education around the national flag (1). She goes so far
 as to say that the pride of the American in his land
 is caused by "reverence shown to the flag" (2). There
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 that. It is not possible to live in America without
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(1) W 230. (2) W 168. (3) T 30. (4) T 22. (5) T 60.
 (6) Z 241-2. (7) T 77. (8) D 201.

CHAPTER VII
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(American Foreign Policy)

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them. To an American "Our Country" means an
expansive dynamic thing (7). That his attitude is
not objective means that his patriotism is sufficiently
conscious "to recent criticism" (8). The regular
(1) W 250. (2) W 100. (3) T 30. (4) T 25. (5) T 20.
(6) E 241-2. (7) T 77. (8) D 201.

orators that "take him at once" are those whose "sonorous and grandiloquent phrases" call up "the grand image of his native land" and of his own greatness as an American, and an old political stager advises the new aspirant to "stick to the American eagle and to our own dear native land as much as possible " (9). Though the same author says that "spread-eagleism" tends to grow "out of fashion" in the stump speech (10) and Bryce observes that "glorification has died out" among the upper or better educated classes, he has to recognize that at least on the Fourth of July, "the scream of the national eagle must be heard by all" (11). Speaking of orators, however, popular public speeches may be here, Ostrogorski remarks that orators of real distinction with lofty intellect and noble character, are extremely rare (12).

Schooling
in
Patriot-
ism

As in the days of the early Hebrews, and as in the Shintoic Japan of today, American education is "an instruction in a well-conceived patriotism (13). Wells spoke with favor of the Americanization work done by the Educational Alliance in New York, and thought that it was the only institution in the country doing such work (14). But while patriotism is good it is not above criticism when it becomes aggressive in a

(9) S 183. (10) S 186. (11) F II, 782.

(12) S 186. (13) J 203. (14) Z 150.

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Schooling
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 Patriot-
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narrow nationalism, Bryce said that American patriotism had ceased to be aggressive (15); but Smart and others found that the emotion towards the flag was excessive (16). Americans travelling abroad never fail to glorify their country and will even wear their national flag (17). This emotion, combined with the way in which war memories are kept alive by every possible device and the fact that "no nation in the world is so fond of playing at soldiers" makes a constant belligerent spirit in evidence (18). In keeping with this, is the self-deceptive boast of political orators who prate that "we can lick creation" (19). Bryce attributes such facile optimism to the absence of powerful nations as immediate neighbors (20).

Imperi-
alism

Although De Constant says that the eagle was out of date as a symbol of the United States and that it ought to be replaced by a bluebird (21), the thought of most travelers is more in line with Emerson's remark that the American eagle is a good deal of a peacock, and De Constant himself marks one occasion upon which the United States fell a victim to imperialism (22). Stead noticed that the United States was getting "conscious of its superior strength" and was thus able "to move out into the open" (23), and Vaya regarded imperialism with its

(15) F2 783. (16) T 174; cf. V 310. (17) T 173. (18) V 135-7.
(19) H 159. (20) F I, 310. (21) K 300. (22) K 519.
(23) U 45.

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Imperialism
alien

policy of conquest an inevitable stage in our dialectical development (24). This "last phase" of American tendencies revealed itself in a presidential parade. Although the soldiers were not smartly dressed and though their uniforms were rough in color and poorly fitted, and their horses, looking as if caught on the prairie the day before, were poor animals compared with European armies, they were greeted with tumultuous applause (25). American imperialism, which goes hand in hand with government centralization, is a more prominent factor in the accession of foreign possessions by the United States than imperialism has been in the attainment of overseas colonies by European powers (26). The American has not thrown in his lot with the foreign peoples he has touched, nor does he need colonies to settle an expanding population; his pride in his colonies is the evidence they afford of his national greatness (27).

Foreign
Policy

The American citizen has a "general interest in European problems (28) and can discuss foreign affairs with much intelligence (29). There is however a general lack of responsibility to the world as a whole (30). It is a good thing that the country's official foreign policy is in the hands of the Senate and is thus not subject to changes

(24) X 439, 441. (25) X 110-11. (26) S 418; T 65.
(27) T 65-6. (28) T 177. (29) Q1 27. (30) Z 156.

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with changing presidents (31). Yet the way in which the consent of the Senate is necessary to ratify a treaty "enables the country to retire from a doubtful bargain" and is disagreeable to other nations (32). Again, the way in which the House of Representatives, which is without responsibility in foreign affairs, passes resolutions on matters of foreign policy leads to a misunderstanding of the resolutions by Europe (33). Further, foreign affairs may be made the victim of expediency in internal political strife. A Senate party sometimes defeats a treaty in order to humiliate the president who is in favor of it (34). And again, much is left to the President and the Secretary of State who are usually "politicians pure and simple, though not always quite pure or quite simple either," and they approach foreign problems without good breeding and with an eye on the electorate at home, thus often blundering (35). Because the public pay little attention to foreign affairs they can be made the pawns of a party game (36). Finally, the men sent out to become ambassadors may be simply good business men without any training for their new positions (37). Sometimes they are sent merely for social glory, their appointment being due to the fact that their wealth has been of service to a Senator (38); and as for American consuls, their

(31) F I, 71. (32) F I 107. (33) F I, 146-7. (34) F I, 108-9.
 (35) V 140. (36) F I, 109. (37) W 432. (38) Q1 187.

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personal integrity leaves much to be desired (39).

Spanish

War

Dealing now with the foreign relations of the United States in specific situations, we find occasional references that are of significance to us in determining what Europe thinks of them. With regard to the Spanish War, its declaration was an instance of the mighty influence wielded by the press and the way in which a single newspaper corporation could force this country to go to war (40). The mere fact that the power causing the trouble was a European one put most people behind the president (41). If there was an internal unity which embraced both North and South it was because the citizens were proud of their citizenship (42), and the American success was not due to their better guns but that in spite of their inferior equipment, the spirit of the newly-trained soldiers was such that they behaved like veterans (43). If Europe had occasion to be surprised that "our peaceful republic" should go to war, it need not have been, for we had burned more gunpowder in the one hundred years prior to the war "than any so-called military power" (44).

Cuba,

Porto Rico,

and Phil-

ippines

After defeating Spain, the fact that it liberated Cuba and did not annex it, showed that the love of liberty was more than a boast (45). At the same time, however, it annexed Porto Rico and left

(39) Q1 186. (40) K 32. (41) T 62. (42) U 28-9.

(43) P 23n. (44) X 440. (45) U 46-7; Q1 205.

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 (43) F 234. (44) X 440. (45) U 45-7; Q1 203.

its people "without a country" (46)! With regard to the Philippines these could not be brought in under such excuse as Cuba (47); and, in annexing them, the United States forsook for the first time the traditional ideal of self-government and tramped on ten million prostrate Filipinos (48). This seizure "inoculated the United States with that feverish spirit of Imperialism" (49) and it was this spirit that predominated in taking the Hawaiian Islands (50). The spirit of magnanimity, however, revealed itself in re-imbursing Spain with the cost of its improvements in the Philippines and in our treatment of China (51).

Monroe Because the United States control over
 Doctrine Cuba could be called its liberation and because it was within American waters, our action was not a violation of the Monroe Doctrine (52). But after the covetousness in American nature had expressed itself in assuming the right to subjugate the Filipinos, the acceptance of the Doctrine became an empty boast (53). Having entered the ranks of the conquering and colonizing nations, the United States can no longer rest her position upon an application of it (54). Even in wanting to dominate only the western hemisphere the United States is ending its policy of non-intervention in foreign

(46) T 40. (47) X 109. (48) Q1 205. (49) U 202.

(50) N 33-4; U 200-1; F II, 534. (51) U 206; T 62-3.

(52) X 109. (53) Q1 207; U 201-2. (54) X viii.

affairs (55) and denying the Monroe Doctrine in its original meaning (56). The Doctrine is now a fetish to be abandoned (57).

Venezuela In connection with the Venezuela dispute the shirt-sleeve diplomacy of the United States' President with its spreading of the cards on the table in public, was strictly American and worthy of consideration by other governments whose secret diplomatic practices keep their people on the edge of anxiety (58). But in view of the fact that all educated Americans would have admitted "that the constitutional monarchies of England, Scandinavia, and Italy were in essence Republican," it was "a distinct abuse of the spirit" of the Monroe Doctrine to rush to the aid of a South American country on the purely academic basis that it was a sister republic (59). By not exempting the whole of South America from the Monroe Doctrine, the United States is preventing the wholesome development of its peoples and increasing the possibilities of conflict with European powers (60).

Panama Canal It is a tribute to America's ingenuity, tenacity, disregard for criticism and faith, that it carried through what the French started, and constructed the Panama Canal. But to include its fortification in the project was but a sign of

(55) V 142. (56) U 232xx(57)x K 498. (57) Q1 216, 225.
(58) T 63. (59) U 231. (60) U 222-4.

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growing American imperialism (61). This military attitude towards the Canal is an evidence that the spirit of America is more militaristic than a casual observer may think (62).

Mexico

America as a republic felt that it had to protect the interests of a sister republic; similarly, in relation to Mexico the weight of its support, as an adherent to a democratic constitution, is put on the side of Mexico's elected head (63). For the adjustment of Mexican affairs, instead of this being left in the hands of the Pan-American Union, De Constant thought that joint co-operation with the great European powers would be the best way to secure an honorable solution, and would not be contradictory to the Monroe Doctrine (64). He also thought the idea of the Pan-American Union would be worth applying in Europe (65).

English

Relations

Visitors from England have recognized the existence of an anti-English feeling in the United States, and this feeling found expression in many political speeches in most elections (66). Yet since the settlement of the "Alabama" claims, people showed greater goodwill (67) and at the time of the Spanish War there was manifest a feeling of friendliness for England which was quite new (68). It appears that history at least bears witness to a

(61) K 507. (62) T 67; U 228. (63) K 29. (64) K 13.
(65) K 16. (66) T 44; V 134-5. (67) I 324. (68) A 140-1.

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fellow feeling for "no other two nations in the world have had so many arbitrations as Great Britain and the United States" (69. Steevens said that he would like to see England and the United States as allies in a war as this would solve all differences between them (70). In the light of what has happened since, it is interesting to give the reason why all differences would be solved -- it was, that the American never forgets a service. After what he would have liked to see has now actually happened, it would scarcely be an exact expression of the popular American sentiment to say that England did us a service by being on our side in the World War!

Canada

The peaceful relation between United States and Canada carried a lesson for Baron De Constant, the French Senator. In contrast to the fortified frontiers between France and Germany, the boundary line of the former countries has cost neither country anything to protect it from the other (71). Such an expression as that of President Roosevelt, that "every true patriot, every man of statesmanlike habit, should look forward to the day when not a single European power will hold a foot of American soil," is not taken as a representative opinion (72).

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discussions on the matter are merely speculative. Stead forecasts a possible disruption of the British Empire in territories where the attraction of the United States cannot be counteracted (73), and with regard to Ireland in particular he thinks it would not take much for America to place Ireland "among the proud trophies of the humanitarian and liberating zeal of the American people" (74). O'Rell says that Americans backed Home Rule for Ireland in the hope that having secured it, all Irishmen would go to live there (75), and perhaps not less amusing is Stead's remark that it would be interesting for the United States to have it as a base against England (76).

South Africa South Africa, says Stead, would be the next place to be pulled over because of the domestic discontent there (77). But up to the present, America has only been pecking at Africa and sending a few missionaries (78). The president's shirt sleeve diplomacy to which we have referred, through the fear of the United States which it inspired in South Africa, caused the failure of a conspiracy by a private English aggressor (79); but during the South African War, the South African republics were left to their fate in cold-blooded fashion (80).

New Zealand With regard to New Zealand, its social experiments are watched by the younger school of

(73) U 39. (74) U 47. (75) R 217. (76) U 45.
(77) U 39. (78) U 198. (79) U 57. (80) U 66.

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and perhaps not less amusing is Stead's remark that
it would be interesting for the United States to have
it as a base against England (76).

South Africa, says Stead, would be the next
place to be pulled over because of the domestic dis-
content there (77). But up to the present, America
has only been pecking at Africa and sending a few
missionaries (78). The President's shift of
diplomacy to which we have referred, through the
fear of the United States which is inspired in South
Africa, caused the failure of a conspiracy by a mili-
tary English aggressor (79); but during the South
African War, the South African republics were left
to their fate in cold-blooded fashion (80).

With regard to New Zealand, the social
experiments are watched by the younger school of

South
Africa

New
Zealand

(72) U 32. (74) U 42. (75) R 217. (76) U 45.
(77) U 32. (78) U 156. (79) U 37. (80) U 68.

and

American economists and politicians with greater interest than those of any other country (81).

Australia

And finally, even Australia, should it ever seek independence, would not look to the United States for sympathy and support in vain (82).

France

With regard to our feeling for France, at the risk of raising a question as to the competence of observation on the part of French authors in our bibliography, we have to note that they say that we like Frenchmen. We remember Lafayette (83). We are glad that the French Revolution was not fought in vain, and we want to see France progress in prosperity and in the good opinion of the world because any reflections on the French government would reflect on ours, because ours is the same as theirs (84). Although the United States wanted German immigrants, it did not want German domination, therefore it reverts to "the French language, ideas and spirit" (85).

Trade

In the matter of foreign trade, the visitors we have dealt with, saw the United States as a country growing anxious for and enterprising in respect to the development of new markets (86). Even "old countries have been spurred into emulation" (87). This has been especially illustrated in the expansion of trade in South America and South Africa where

(81) U 142. (82) U 138. (83) Y 235. (84) K 9.
(85) K 222. (86) X 442. (87) K 472.

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(85) X 322. (86) X 442. (87) D 472.

American competitors have on occasion been more enterprising than the British (88). Whether tariffs have been to the net advantage of the country or not was a point occasionally debated. It is of significance only to mention that an insistence upon an "open door" elsewhere, while maintaining a closed door here, is an inconsistency (89), and that the tariff policy of the country has been a long way from the idealism it professes (90). Stead remarked that European nations were scared at the rate at which American goods were entering Europe, and contemplated a European Customs Union against it (91). Münsterberg saw a disadvantage to America's becoming a creditor nation and felt that reciprocity in tariff arrangements was the "sub-conscious wish of the entire nation" (92).

Navy

In 1898, Steevens saw that the Americans were anxious to increase their navy and to become the leading naval power (93). He found the boys in the navy not so cheerfully alert as the English, for it was not to be expected that Americans would take kindly to discipline (94). In 1901, with the possession of the Philippines, Stead saw us realizing that the sea is a greater bond than land (95). In 1911, De Constant found that our navy had made it possible for us to forsake our traditional ideals

(88) W 190; U 67. (89) T 68. (90) K 515. (91) U 178-80. (92) Q1 299. (93) V 42. (94) V 45. (95) U 44.

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(88) W 150; U 67. (89) T 63. (90) T 61. (91) U 178-81.
(92) A 1 200. (93) V 43. (94) V 43. (95) U 44.

and to take on a policy of intervention and develop an enthusiasm for beating other powers (96); and Smart found that though we had had an opportunity to set "a nobler style," the navy was "the pride of the people" (97).

Paci-
fism

It is an excellent concluding comment upon the state of public sentiment during the quarter of a century we have covered in this survey that, notwithstanding anything we have noted that may suggest bellicose intentions towards other nations, there was a unanimity of comment denying such intentions. The American method of "the open window in diplomacy" (98), its accomplishments in international arbitration (99), the idealistic leadership it demonstrated in showing Europe the way to the Hague (100), its positive teaching and practice of international diplomacy (101), its absence of militaristic spirit and a military class (102) all show that America is a power for peace and ethical international ideals (103). Notwithstanding the worst spread-eagleism of the yellow press, there was no real sentiment for putting the "superiority" of our navy to a practical test; on the contrary, the United States was leading the world in showing that under conditions of modern life "a resolute loyalty to a unifying idea may be maintained" (104). The United States will give birth to the religion of the future (105).

(96) K 491-4. (97) T 68. (98) T 68. (99) U 248; Q1 202.
(100) K 138, 309; U 254. (101) K 343; X 359. (102)
F II, 522, 525. (103) Q1 226. (104) A 133. (105) K 389.

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